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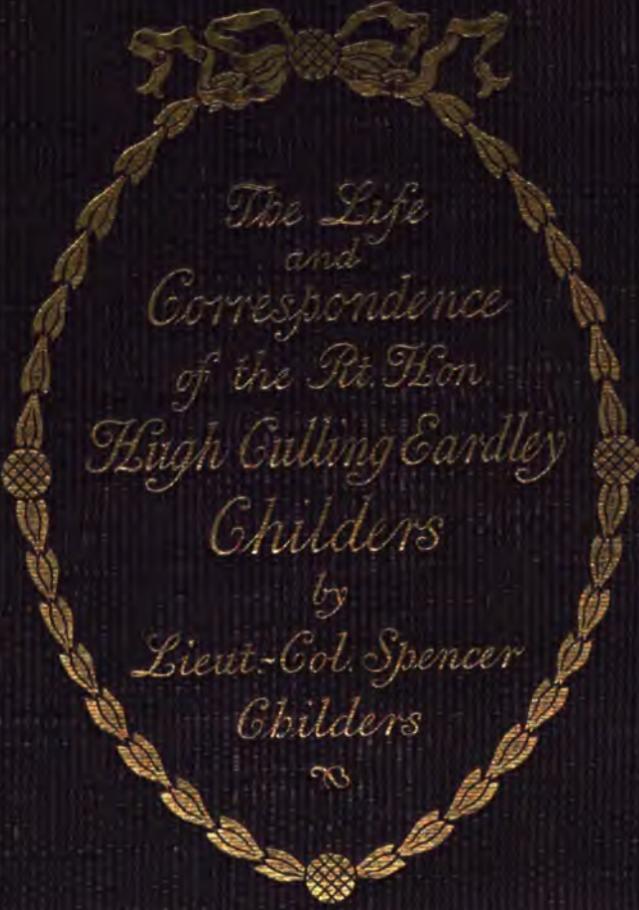
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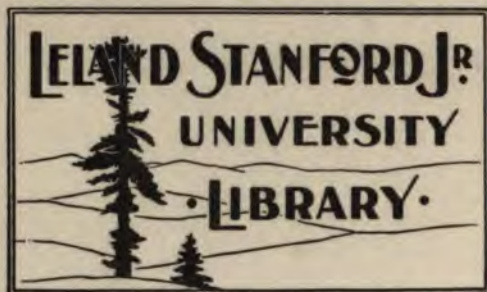
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*The Life
and
Correspondence
of the Rt. Hon.
Hugh Culling Eardley
Childers
by
Lieut.-Col. Spencer
Childers*



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PRESENTED BY THOMAS WELTON STANFORD

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE RIGHT HON.

HUGH C. E. CHILDERS



W. & A. G. & Co. London

*Hugh Childers, aged 9
From an oil painting done at 1850.*

THE LIFE
AND CORRESPONDENCE OF
THE RIGHT HON.
HUGH C. E. CHILDERS

1827-1896

BY HIS SON
LIEUT.-COL. SPENCER CHILDERS, C.B.
ROYAL ENGINEERS

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

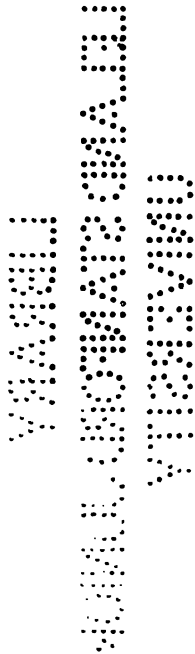
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PREFACE.

IN compiling this Memoir, I have been actuated, first, by the desire to carry out what I believe to have been my father's wish, namely, that some of the many letters and papers so carefully selected by him during his lifetime might be given to the world after his death; and, secondly, by the hope expressed by many of his friends that a record of his labours in the service of his country might be preserved.

In 1892, on his retirement from Parliament, Lord Knutsford had written to him: "I hope you will set to work, and give us the substance of the many interesting papers and letters which you must have, and a sketch of the life you have led, and of the men whom you have met, and with whom you have worked." If his life had been prolonged my father might have written an interesting autobiography, for of him it could truly be said that

he had seen many men and many cities. He did indeed make a beginning, but he lived only long enough to complete the sketch of his early years, which forms the opening chapter of this Memoir.

Once only do I remember my father alluding to the subject of his future biography, and on that occasion he expressed some hope that it might perhaps be in the power of one of his most intimate friends—Sir George Trevelyan—to write it. It would have been very gratifying indeed to have had such a biographer, but this was not possible. "I am absolutely precluded," wrote Sir George, "from undertaking any work in addition to what I have at present. My own belief is," he added, "that a son, when master of the papers, does such a work better than any one who is induced to undertake it from the outside—except by a very happy chance."

It had not then occurred to me to attempt the task myself, and it was after much hesitation that I ventured to undertake it. I can only hope that the reader will treat with indulgence those shortcomings the existence of which I feel must be often apparent. I have endeavoured as far as possible to let the extracts from my father's

journals and correspondence tell the story of his life, linking them together with explanatory statements, or inserting a connecting narrative where needed.

Probably few public men have left their papers more methodically arranged. This was a great advantage to me, as the mass of them was very great. But they had been so carefully sorted at regular intervals, and selected with so much precision, that the task was greatly lightened.

One of the chief difficulties which I have encountered in carrying out the work was due to the fact that at the time of my father's death I was at the Cape, whence I was transferred to Malta; and I have only recently returned to England. These moves, and the consequent transport of many boxes of papers, have greatly delayed the completion of these volumes.

I desire in the first place, to express my respectful thanks to Her Majesty the Queen for her gracious permission to publish her letters, also to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge for a similar permission.

I have also to record my grateful thanks to the many old friends and colleagues of my father to whom I have applied for information and advice,

or for permission to publish letters. Among those who have thus rendered invaluable assistance are the Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Ripon, the Marquis of Dufferin, the Earl of Kimberley, the Earl of Wemyss, the Earl of Northbrook, the Earl of Selborne, Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, Viscount Halifax, Viscount Cromer, Viscount Knutsford, Lord Brassey, Lord Welby, Lord Glenesk, Sir William Harcourt, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Lady Rose Weigall, Mrs. Beaumont (Lady Colley), Sir Bartle Frere, Sir George Errington, Miss Gertrude Elliot, Sir George Trevelyan, Sir Joseph Pease, General Sir Andrew Clarke, Sir John Hibbert, Sir Edmund Verney, General Sir Evelyn Wood, Admiral Sir George Willes, General Sir Edmund DuCane, Sir Godfrey Lushington, The Dean of Ripon, The Master of Trinity (Dr. Butler), Mr. Stephen Simeon, Major M. Boyd, R.E., Mr. Edward Lushington, General Sir Bevan Edwards, Lady Adye, Sir Gardner Engleheart, the Rev. T. W. Carr, Mr. F. C. Carr Gomm, Admiral Sir Anthony Hoskins, Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, Mr. Arnold-Forster, Mr. Henry Labouchere, Mr. David Buchan, and the proprietors of *Punch* and of *Vanity Fair*.

I am particularly indebted to Earl Roberts, Viscount Wolseley, and Sir Andrew Clarke, for placing at my disposal the whole of their correspondence with my father; to Mrs. Beaumont, for the letters from the late Sir George Colley; to Lord Welby, for the valuable information he has, with great pains, collected for me about the Treasury and the offices of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Financial Secretary, and the passing of the Audit Act; also to Sir Gardner Engleheart, for information as to the Duchy of Lancaster; to my aunt, Mrs. Walbanke Childers, my cousins, Mrs. Culling Hanbury and Miss Childers, and to my sisters, for many miniatures, pictures, and family letters; also to my brother-in-law Mr. John Murray, for his valuable advice and unfailing assistance; and last, but by no means least, to my brother Hugh R. E. Childers, who has spared neither time nor pains to revise the proofs and has obtained much detailed information of a very varied character.

It will be observed that no letters from Mr. Gladstone appear in these volumes. The exigencies of the preparation of his biography, now in the press, have led his representatives to withhold their permission for the publication of any of his numerous and important letters to my

father, and I have therefore, I regret to say, only been at liberty to convey in general terms the purport of those letters which were essential to this biography.

SPENCER CHILDERS.

WEYMOUTH,
January, 1901.

P.S.—While these pages were passing through the press, the lamented death of Her Majesty Queen Victoria has occurred. As part of the sheets were already printed off, it was too late to alter the styles and titles throughout, and I therefore hope that I may be pardoned for leaving them as they stand.

S. C.

February 9, 1901.

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LIFE OF THE RIGHT HON. HUGH CHILDERS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY YEARS.

1827-1850.

Family and Early Years—Cheam School—Goes from Oxford to Cambridge—Paris in 1848—Marriage—Voyage to Australia.

SHORTLY before his death Mr. Childers began an account of his family, with some recollections of his early years, here given in his own words:—

I was born on the 25th of June, 1827, in Brook Street, at my uncle, Sir Culling Eardley's house. My father was a clergyman, the second son of Colonel Childers of Cantley, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, by the youngest daughter of Lord Eardley. My mother was the eldest daughter of Sir Culling Smith of Bedwell Park, by the second daughter of Lord Eardley. I never had a brother, and my only sister died in Rome at an early age.

On my father's side I am descended from a line of squires,¹ the first of whom, Mr. Hugh Childers, a banker,

¹ It appears from some old writings that the *Childerses* were a respectable family in the reign of Edward III. when he married Philippa at York, in the year 1330; also, that one of the family was appointed to attend the person of Henrietta, Queen of Charles I. The loyalty and attachment of this family to the unfortunate House of

then called a mercer, in Doncaster, settled at Carr House¹ close to Doncaster, towards the end of the sixteenth century. Three only of my ancestors on my father's side were men of any distinction. Mr. Leonard Childers, the owner of "Flying Childers," who bought the estate of Cantley, three miles south-east of Doncaster; Mr. C. W. Childers, an active supporter of Lord Rockingham, and a member of the Yorkshire country party; and Colonel Walbanke Childers, my grandfather, who was for many years on the staff of the Duke of York, both at the Horse Guards and in the Low Countries. He commanded his regiment, the 11th Light Dragoons, as did his brother, Colonel Michael Childers, C.B.,² an officer of distinction in the Peninsula, at Waterloo, and at Bhurtpore. He was a keen sportsman, and the "Childers" fly is well known on the Tweed.

On my mother's side we are descended from M. le Fevre, one of the refugees from France at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; he was a London merchant, and took the name of Smith.³

His great-grandson was made a baronet in 1805 as Sir Culling Smith of Hadley, which he afterwards sold, purchasing with the proceeds the beautiful estate of Bedwell in Hertfordshire.

Stuart was so conspicuous that they were obliged to procure an especial pardon from Oliver Cromwell, to render them secure, and their persons and property, during the Commonwealth.—Miller's "History and Antiquities of Doncaster."

¹ This house, situated about $\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of Doncaster, in the parish of Warmsworth, was built in 1604 by Hugh Childers, Mayor of Doncaster; and the estate has been in the possession of his descendants from that period. Leonard Childers, Esq., grandson of the above Hugh, bred here the famous running horse called "Bay Childers" out of a mare which, it is said, cost him only seven pounds. "Bay Childers," when young, became the property of the Duke of Devonshire, and is supposed to have been the fleetest racer ever bred in England.—Miller's "History," *ubi supra*.

² For an interesting allusion to his action in regard to the Belgian troops at Waterloo, see "Diary of a Cavalry Officer, etc.," by Colonel Tomkinson, p. 309.

³ *I.e.* Faber, le Fevre.

My uncle, the third baronet, took the name of Eardley, under Lord Eardley's will, on inheriting Belvedere in Kent, with other Eardley property, and is now represented by my cousin, his daughter, Mrs. Culling Hanbury.

Lord Eardley, my great-grandfather both on my father's and mother's side, was the only son of the "Rothschild" of last century, Mr. Sampson Gideon, a Portuguese Jew of good family (Abudiente), whose father, Rowland Gideon, a West India merchant, had left his country at the time of the Portuguese persecutions.

Mr. Gideon, who was the financial adviser of Mr. Pelham,¹ was offered by George II. whatever honour he chose, from a peerage downwards. But he refused everything for himself, and finally only accepted a baronetcy for his son, then a boy at Eton.

He had the great foresight to invest a large proportion of his fortune in Fen property, in connection with which great drainage works were being carried out. At his son's death these Fen estates had doubled in value.

Mr. Gideon was not a strict Jew, and brought up his children (my great-grandfather, Lord Eardley, and Lady Gage) as Christians.² The son, whose creation as a baronet when a boy I have mentioned, married the beautiful Miss Wilmot (eldest daughter of Sir John Eardley

¹ "In 1745, when the advance of Charles Edward to Derby threw the City into a panic, he (Sampson Gideon) freely lent his property and his credit to the Government, and raised a loan of £1,700,000.

"In 1749 he advised and carried through the consolidation of the National Debt, and the reduction of its interest, and in 1750 is said to have raised £1,000,000 of three per cents. at par.

"At the beginning of the Seven Years' War, in 1756, he paid a bounty from his estates for the recruiting of the army, and in the great years of the war, 1758 to 1759, as shown by letters from the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, he was almost wholly relied on by the Government for the raising of loans."—"Dictionary of National Biography," vol. xxi. p. 290.

² "He breeds his children Christians," Horace Walpole wrote in 1753.

Wilmot, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas), whose portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough are well known. This distinguished judge was twice offered the Lord Chancellorship.

His grandmother was the last of the family of Eardley in Staffordshire, and his mother was the last of the family of Marow of Berkswell in Warwickshire, which became the seat of the Wilmot family.

Sir Sampson Gideon, afterwards Lord Eardley,¹ had five children, two sons, who never married, and three daughters—Lady Saye and Sele, and my two grandmothers, Lady Culling Smith and Mrs. Childers. Lord Eardley himself lived to a great age, but did not make a will after the death of his sons, the disposition of his very large property being thus so complicated as to require a special Act of Parliament.²

He has now no descendants by his eldest daughter,

¹ Mr. Gladstone, writing from Downing Street on October 27, 1869, inquired whether it was a fact that Sir Sampson Gideon had been brought up a Christian. "I have been told that when a peer he was of the Jewish religion, which raises a constitutional point of some interest, so that I do not write from mere curiosity when I beg you kindly to inform me whether there is any truth in the account thus given me."

To Mr. Gladstone.

October 28, 1869.

One of my great-great-grandfathers was a Jew, a Mr. Gideon, who made a large fortune in the city, and was confidential adviser of Sir R. Walpole, Mr. Pelham, and the first Mr. Pitt. He guaranteed the rebellion loan of 1745, and for the following fifteen years was uniformly consulted at the Treasury on all financial questions. Mr. Pitt offered him any honours he wished, but he steadily refused. He, however, accepted for his son (then a boy at Eton) a baronetcy, and the letter from the father to the son announcing this is a great curiosity. The son, so made a baronet, at (I think) fifteen, was Sir Sampson Gideon. But he was brought up as a Christian from infancy, to the great indignation of the Portuguese Jews, of whom Mr. Gideon was one.

Sir Sampson Gideon was a steady Pittite, and was made an Irish peer for political services. He died at a very great age in, I think, 1825.

² 7 & 8 Geo. 4, c. 12.



FLYING CHILDERS, "THE FLEETEST HORSE THAT EVER RUN AT NEWMARKET."

From an Engraving by Houston, after Seymour.

[To face p. 4, Vol. I.]

and the Saye and Sele title and estates have gone to a cousin. My grandmother, Lady Culling Smith, left an only son, the Sir Culling who took the name of Eardley, under Lord Eardley's will, on the death, without children, of the 12th Lord Saye and Sele. Sir Culling Eardley had a son and two daughters. The son married, and died without family, when the title became extinct.

The two daughters, Mrs. Culling Hanbury and Hon. Mrs. William Fremantle, are alive, and one of the most interesting duties of my life, for twenty-five years, was the administration, as co-trustee with Mr. Edward Lushington,¹ of the large estates settled upon them.

My other grandmother, also Lord Eardley's daughter, had a large family, but lost her husband in early middle life. Her eldest son, Mr. Walbanke Childers² of Cantley, married the late Viscount Halifax's sister, by whom he had also a large family. His only married son left a daughter, who inherited Cantley. Two of Mr. Childers's daughters married and have left sons, one of them being the present Lord Auckland.

My father was, as I have already said, Colonel Childers's second son, and married his cousin. When I was an infant he was Incumbent of Maidenhead, and in the church there, there is a tablet to his memory. He died when I was three years old; I can just recollect his asking me, on the Marine Parade at Brighton, whether I should like to cross the sea. We went to Nice, where he died early in 1831, and was buried in the old British cemetery, near the wall of the square house which then did duty for a church.

After his death my mother returned to England, and between 1831 and 1834 we lived during the winters at

¹ Formerly Secretary to the Government of India in the Financial Department; now the only surviving member of Lord Lawrence's Council.

² M.P. for Cambridgeshire, 1832-34; Malton, 1835-52.

Brighton, and during the summers at my aunt's house, Park Gate, just outside the Park walls of Bedwell. In 1834 my sister's health gave cause for anxiety, and the whole Brighton party decided to spend one or two winters at Nice. In those days the only "winter resorts" on the Riviera were Nice and Hyères. It had not then become as clear as it has since that Nice, with its bright sun and constant mistral, was not a fit place for people who had developed distinct signs of chest disease.

Had the true nature of the Nice climate been then appreciated, neither my father, in 1830, nor my sister, in 1834, would have gone there, but the choice was limited, and I do not think that at that time the advantages of Pau had been discovered, although the manifest disadvantages of Montpellier (the resort of the consumptive in the last century) were well known.

We took a charming villa, Maison Blanco, not far from Maison Key. I was a tall and active boy of seven, very fond of walking about the country with my tutor, M. Rivat, who taught me French and Italian and a little German.

In the summer of 1835 we started by a mountain road across the Apennines to Milan, and ultimately to Genoa, where we stayed till the autumn; we rented there a house, Les Grottes, belonging, if I remember rightly, to the celebrated Calvinist preacher, M. Malan.

We returned to Nice for the winter of 1835-36, and left for Rome at the end of the winter, and remained there till May. I greatly enjoyed that stay in Rome, being just old enough (and with a tolerable knowledge of Italian) to appreciate the sights, in seeing which my tutor and I spent the greater part of nearly every day.

Two months of this sight-seeing gave me a very considerable knowledge of Rome, ancient and modern.

At the beginning of summer we started homewards. Our route was to have been by Venice, and through

Titian's country to Munich; but the cholera was then raging at Venice, and it was decided to take the route by Florence, Bologna, and Verona. I remember that we spent about a week sight-seeing at Florence, and that I liked Verona better than Bologna—a preference which I now know to be a mistake. We crossed the Brenner in bad weather, which we carried as far as Munich.

After spending a day or two in the galleries there, we struck southward to Schaffhausen, and thence through the Grand-Duchy of Baden to Heidelberg and Frankfurt. I suppose that we took the steamer at Mayence, but I have been so often since by that route, that I do not clearly remember at what point we first saw the Rhine.

From Cologne we went to Spa and Brussels; at Spa I fell into the river and was nearly drowned. We left the next day for Brussels, and thence went by Ghent and Bruges to Dunkirk, and by a most dreary drive to Calais.

This two years' travel through France, Italy, and Germany, was of infinite advantage to me, although I am not quite sure that it made my schoolboy life more pleasant. Boys who have travelled and know several foreign languages are not always particularly popular with their fellows; but this, in my case, was pretty well balanced by the absence from French classes which was granted to me.

It was decided that I should go to Cheam school, then kept, by Dr. Mayo, and I arrived there in August, 1836. The system of the school was as bad in some respects as it was good in others.

Cheam had been a rival of some of the best public schools, most of the boys staying there till they were old enough to go to College. But about the time that I went there the school, in this respect, was in a transition state, probably in consequence of the greater attractions of Rugby and improvements at Eton.

Half the boys stayed till seventeen and eighteen, and

the other half only till thirteen and fourteen—a very bad state of things for the discipline and organization of the school. The head master was getting old, and saw too much through his wife's spectacles. He did not succeed in his selection of ushers; with the single brilliant exception of Mr. Reiner, all in my time being underbred and ill-informed. But the school had caught some modern educational ideas. There was less learning by rote, and more intellectual work, than at the average of public schools. In other respects, however, matters were deplorable.

Evangelicalism, not of the manly type that prevails now, was supposed to teach us that one of the first duties of a schoolboy was to watch the conduct of his fellows, and to report it to the master. Hence, sneaking and spying were universal. No appeal to a boy's honour, the foundation of the good discipline of Rugby, was dreamed of. That we were all desperately wicked, however sound in theology, was made the principle of school life, and I only wonder that so many of us passed through such an ordeal unscathed.

I stayed at school for seven years. In classics I fairly held my own; in mathematics and German, Mr. Reiner's teaching had raised me a good deal above my place according to age. (The following letter, written to his mother when he was $9\frac{1}{2}$ years old, shows that figures came easily to him even at that early age:—

To his Mother.

CHEAM, December 2nd, 1836.

MY DEAR MAMMA,—I received your letter the day before yesterday. I could not write last Friday, because I had no paper. In arithmetic I am doing "subtraction of decimals." I will tell you all the process of arithmetic that I know: Addition, subtraction, multiplication, division (long division), reducing numbers to an improper fraction, reducing to least common denominator, reducing to lowest

terms ; addition, subtraction, multiplication, division of fractions ; reducing a decimal to a fraction, a fraction to a decimal ; addition and subtraction of decimals. We are doing linear drawing with Mr. Primrose. I hope Loulou's teeth are better. I suppose somebody will take me home. I shall not write again. I am, your affectionate son,

HUGH CHILDERS.

P.S.—“ It is now the last week but one
When you must take all in fun.”)

In French I never, at school, had anything to learn ; and, according to the ideas of those days, the boys were not taught English or modern history. On the other hand, chemistry and electricity were taught to real advantage. I remember a series of lectures by Professor Schonbein, who explained to us, among other things, the certain future of the electric telegraph in, I think, the year 1841 ; and Mr. Reiner's admiration of Faraday led to some of us being really advanced scholars in chemistry, which, with electricity, were the studies I most delighted in.¹

¹ Mr. F. C. Carr Gomm gives a lively reminiscence of those youthful days of scientific research :—

“ It was when he was nearing the end of his Cheam time that I first remember Hugh : both he and I used to spend our Christmas holidays with his grandmother, Mrs. Childers, first at Brighton, and afterwards at Breeds Place, Hastings. To my child-like eyes he was quite a hero, and I was greatly impressed by his physical and intellectual height. There was a little back room in Breeds Place in which he was then conducting various chemical experiments, one of the results of which was a grand evening lecture by Hugh in the drawing-room to a select party of old and young. (This must have been the Christmas of 1841 or 1842.) I was very proud in being allowed to be his fag on that occasion, and to bring and take away the glasses and bottles as required. To this day I can see him, gorgeous in evening dress, with white gloves (these were discarded, of course, as the experiments came on), reading his most learned exordium on the progress and utility of chemistry, and then followed those wonderful examples, in which I bore the prominent part of helper and bottle-washer. There was an electric battery which crackled with visible sparks ; there was an air-pump creating a vacuum under a glass cylinder, in which a feather and a sovereign fell with equal rapidity to the table ; finally (I am not sure whether

It may be asked what religious instruction we had. I often smile at the demands which are made in these days for the religious instruction of poor children, when I call to mind how much was given to us. Long sermons in the school-room, as well as in church on Sundays ; a very little Greek Testament for the highest class ; Bible-reading, without note or comment, once a week—and that was all. No explanations, no practical instruction, no hints at the Church system ! Yet our teachers affected to believe in the verbal inspiration of every line of Scripture.

During my seven years of school I made a great many friendships, some of which have lasted all my life. With not more than two exceptions, all my school-fellows were sons of gentlemen.

It is a little remarkable that, much as we all disliked

it was meant to be finally, but it was so of necessity) there was a beautiful model of Vesuvius, out of which, with a good deal of coaxing, a real eruption came, pouring molten lava down its sides ; but, alas ! quickly filling the room with such a dense sulphurous smoke that the company had to fly to windows and doors to escape choking, and whence the lecturer and his assistant soon emerged, nobly carrying the still smoking mountain into the outer air. For years I cherished the calcined crater of that volcano as a scientific curiosity.

"As a young man Hugh was very fond of lecturing on all sorts of subjects, and certainly—though the lectures might not have been very scientific or original—he had the power of always making them both interesting and delightfully clear.

"Of course after those early years he went to Cambridge, and then to Australia, very soon, however, returning to England and entering on his Parliamentary life—and it was not till my return from India on furlough in 1866 that I again met him ; but of course I heard much of him from home. However, busy as he was—and his was a busy, occupied life from start to finish—he was always ready to assist and advise in all family doubts and difficulties, and he was most unselfish in such matters. On one occasion I remember he, at considerable personal inconvenience, undertook a journey to America to inquire after and to bring back if possible a truant member of the family.

"To go and consult Hugh was a continual family recipe in cases of difficulty, and it was generally followed by beneficial results."



Mrs. Eardley Childers.
Mrs. Eardley Childers.
Mrs. Eardley Childers.

From a Silhouette, drawn in 1830.

[To face p. 10, Vol. I.]

the school system, there was a certain attachment to the place, which, now that the whole system has been altered, has led us to send our own sons there. I have looked through the present school-list from time to time, and it was pleasant to see that quite half the names were the same as those who were there with or before me, sons or grandsons of my old school-fellows. The mixture of boys above fourteen with juniors has ceased.

After I reached fourteen the specialities of the school were more and more irksome to me. Liberties which some years before had been allowed to the elder boys were, one after another, discontinued.

For instance, when I went to school all the boys of fourteen and above were allowed to take long walks without an usher; and, being intensely fond of the country, I had looked forward to having this privilege. I never, however, had it, except perhaps once or twice, just before I was sixteen. The mistrust of the boys shown by the head master and his wife increased, and was greatly resented.

Fortunately, however, the prejudice against public schools diminished, and although when I went to school a very large proportion of boys were between fourteen and eighteen, when I left, just under sixteen, I was the eldest boy in the school. But after fourteen I had, on account of age, lost all chance of going to a public school. I had had also, before I was fourteen, a strong wish to go into the Navy, but this had been vetoed on grounds of health.

I see I have said nothing about games. I was a good cricketer, a fair football player, but above all I was a first-rate fives player, better than any boy or master. Being tall and slight, I was extremely active, but not what is called very strong. This had partly told against me when I was anxious to go to a public school, but I suspect that

the non-existence of Low Church public schools of the first rank had more to do with the decision.

Before I left school I was within half an inch of my present height (six feet).

When my school-time came to an end, in 1843, my mother and sister were abroad, and I spent some pleasant months at my uncle's (Sir Culling Smith's) at Torquay. There I made the acquaintance of Mr. Pengelly, a most agreeable geologist, with whom I studied the mysteries of Kent's Cave, and other geological wonders in South Devon.

It was about this time that the controversies as to the age of the world and the literal truth of the first chapter of Genesis were acute.

My relations were, of course, on the old orthodox side, and it was with bated breath that Pengelly hazarded cautious doubts on these subjects.

Then the time came for me to go to College. My wishes were divided between Trinity College, Cambridge, where my father had graduated, and a good college at Oxford—the greater part of my school friends having gone to Oxford. It was finally decided that I should go to Merton, and one of my uncles wrote to the senior tutor, who was his personal friend, asking if I could have a post mastership. At that time the undergraduates at Merton were either gentlemen commoners or on the foundation, and (it was before the days of competition) a mathematical post-mastership—the Merton word for scholarship—was given away almost every year.

Unluckily, however, my year was one of the few in which there was no vacancy, and it was arranged that I should go to another college, pending the vacancy in the following year. But that other college was not easy to find. It had to be a Low Church one, and in 1845 most of the small colleges were under High Church

influence. The Warden of Wadham, however, consented to take me for a year, and I was fortunate in getting pleasant rooms, and in making five or six agreeable acquaintances, which ripened into real friendships. But the great majority of my personal friendships were at other colleges.

To his Mother.

WADHAM, OXFORD, *All Saints' Day*, 1845.

I have seen and read Todd's "Student's Guide," and some of it I liked very much, but it is rather tedious and quaint. I have heard in the University pulpits, since my last to you, the dean (Dr. Gaisford)¹ and Claughton,² and Dr. Jeune,³ the head of Pembroke, which latter is a fine and splendid preacher, very Low Church, somewhat violently so—but quite carries you with him. He preached on that passage about purification by fire in Corinthians, and quite electrified the University by denouncing Newman, if not by name, certainly so that one could not mistake him. He is very popular here. Gaisford gave us a pretty fair moral lecture, and Claughton carried us into the second commandment, as dry as an essay could well be, but nothing erroneous. I shall hear Dr. Ogilvie⁴ to-morrow, and Sewell⁵ on the Gunpowder Plot day. I have been walking a little and boating a little—on my legs to Cumnor, Woodstock, Cowley, Iffley, Applecot, Bagley Wood, Blenheim, and by water to Nuneham Park (the archbishop's⁶) and Sandford. I did see Goulburn, and breakfasted with him: he is a tremendous don. Eight Oxford clergymen, one of them a great dignitary, go over to Rome to-morrow; and others are following. Though very sad for themselves, I heard it remarked to-day that it will be a very good thing for the would-be Fellows, and I am sure it will be a most excellent thing for the Church. I am reading seventeen lectures a week, nine of which are

¹ Thomas Gaisford, Dean of Christ Church, 1831-55.

² Afterwards Bishop of Colombo, and later (when Mr. Childers was Secretary for War) Chaplain-General of the Forces.

³ Afterwards Bishop of Peterborough; father of Sir Francis Jeune

⁴ The first Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology.

⁵ Warden of Radley College.

⁶ Edward Harcourt, Archbishop of York.

with the sub-warden. The four-oar races come on next week, as well as the two-oar. Wadham I do not think will try.

I worked fairly hard during my stay at Wadham, especially at mathematics, under that most admirable private tutor, no longer a Fellow of the college, Rev. R. Walker. But I confess I think it was a mistake being of one college for a year before going permanently to another ; so I was not sorry when the time came to inquire whether the arrangement about Merton stood good. Dr. Goulburn at once confirmed it, and I called upon the Warden of Wadham for the necessary *bene decessit*. I shall never forget my interview with the old man. When I explained my business he, in his most portentous manner, professed to have entirely forgotten the arrangement my uncle had made with him, and on my reminding him of what had exactly passed, all I could get from him was that the college did not like their young men to go elsewhere, adding a few complimentary expressions about the certainty of my getting a first class in mathematics, and a fair chance of my getting a second in classics. Nothing that I could say shook him.

I wrote at once to my uncle Childers, telling him what had happened. He was greatly annoyed, but at my suggestion wrote to the Master of Trinity, Cambridge, asking him to receive me, and inquiring if I might have credit for my Oxford terms.

Dr. Whewell, who had known my father, at once assented, told me that there would be no difficulty about my terms, but that I must pass my Little-go at Cambridge. (I suppose I am one of the very few people who have done this at both Universities.)

I took Dr. Whewell's letter to the Warden of Wadham, and asked him for what he was unable to refuse, a *feliciter migravit*, to enable me to go to Cambridge. He was greatly annoyed, and showed it. But I reminded him that

my conduct at college had been without reproach, and that he was bound to give it me. I think I had the sympathy of his wife, for she asked me to breakfast, a very unusual honour at Wadham.

So I went to Trinity, carrying my three or four terms with me, passed my Little-go, took a first class in the college examination, and settled down to an uneventful two years at Trinity.

I say uneventful from a college and academic point of view; but the times were stirring, and in the vacations of 1848 I paid two visits to Paris, and was fortunate enough to see some of the most stirring scenes of the third French Revolution. I had spent the Christmas vacation of 1847-48 with my mother at Nice, and started homewards the beginning of February, travelling partly by diligence, partly by *malle poste*, with the help of two bits of railway recently opened, between Marseilles and Avignon and Orleans and Paris. (I am not sure whether we did not also use a few miles of railway north of Paris.) I stayed for two or three days at Paris, and it was quite clear that trouble was coming. I went so far as to engage a room, so that I might be at Paris on the day of the banquet, the prohibition of which was the immediate cause of the Revolution. But it was not easy to get leave from college for such a purpose, and thus I missed the most exciting scenes of the Revolution. But, although I was not present at the outbreak, I saw two great sights. One, the presentation of colours by Lamartine and the Provisional Government in the Champs Elysées to deputations from every French regiment. It was a brilliant day, and, like all French spectacles, the function was extremely well arranged. I was fortunate enough to be within a few feet of Lamartine for an hour or two, and I was able to watch the faces of the Provisional Government—very able men, though oddly assorted.

I remember specially disliking Ledru Rollin's face and admiring the Hebrew Cremier. I suppose this was about the longest ceremony recorded in history.

The other sight was one of the "Jours des Dupes," as the French repeatedly call political disappointments, when an overwhelming force of ultra "reds" marched on the Hôtel de Ville, expecting to meet no resistance. I forget who was the General in command of the troops in Paris, but he very cleverly kept them as much as possible out of sight, and when the head of the enormous revolutionary column was within three or four hundred yards of the Hôtel de Ville he let a few score pass and barred the way of the rest with soldiers, who seemed to have risen out of the ground. I was myself in the building, and I remember, as if it were yesterday, the confused looks of the baffled insurgents. Some speeches were made on both sides, but no violence was committed, and for the first time the ultras were made ridiculous.

I was fortunately not in Paris when the great outbreak of June, 1848, took place, put down by General Cavaignac with such a frightful loss of life.

I went once or twice to the Assembly, and had the audacity to send in my card to one of the *questeurs*, whether M. Baze or M. Le Flot I do not remember.

Many years afterwards, since the war of 1870, I was in Paris, and, wanting to go to the Chambre on a day when I had not an order for the Embassy gallery, I again sent in my card to the *questeur*, who was the same that I had appealed to for admission when a boy. Oddly enough, he remembered the fact of a very young Englishman having asked for admission in 1848, and I always took care to inquire for him on the occasion of subsequent visits.

I remember being struck by one thing during the exciting times of the third Revolution: the perfect indifference apparently felt by the sightseers and the officials in

charge of the galleries, etc., which they visited. The streets might be in a state of extreme agitation, but everything in the life of the sightseers went on as usual. If we had a revolution in London I doubt whether the National Gallery and the British Museum would be open and as much frequented as usual.

My college life at Cambridge was not eventful. I did not aim at a high degree, though I wished to be in as good a position in the Tripos as my father, and this I just accomplished, being senior optime. I read very little of the higher mathematics (astronomy, optics, etc.), but I made up my mind to read all I could which would be of practical use to me in after life, *e.g.* modern history, political economy, and constitutional law.

I almost knew by heart the best of Macaulay's Essays, and Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." I think I must have known contemporary history, that is to say, everything that happened since the French Revolution, as well as any one in Cambridge.

My Cambridge course was, however, interrupted by a very serious illness in the autumn of 1848, which was called low fever. I doubt whether the word "typhoid" had been invented in those days. It reduced me so much that I was obliged to go to a warmer climate during the winter of 1848-49, and spent some weeks at Guernsey, reading, as far as I was able, with Dr. Bromby, the head of Elizabeth College.

He was a very accurate mathematician, though hardly equal to teach in the higher branches; and for those I did not care. But he taught me method, and I permanently profited by it.

As soon as the weather was sufficiently warm, I hired a small yacht, and lived a great deal at sea. I acquired in this way some knowledge of yachting, and a considerable acquaintance with the habits of French

seamen, besides a little Breton patois, very different from the Provençal I had learnt as a boy.

[Up to this time (1849) he had shown no particular signs of ability or talent, he had gone through the ordinary University course, but there were no indications of that capacity for hard work and grasp of detail which so soon afterwards began to disclose itself. The real cause of the development of these latent qualities, the great incentive to the industry which he so suddenly displayed, was his engagement, when barely twenty-one, to the sister of his college friend, Edmund Walker of Trinity.]

Meanwhile, I was engaged to be married to the third daughter of Mr. Walker of Norton, in Worcestershire, and sister of my old friend George Edmund Walker, who lived to be the excellent parish priest of Doddington, in Cambridgeshire.

[From this time the change was very marked ; he took life seriously, read hard for his degree, wrote for the local newspaper, and commenced a Journal. On the 1st of January, 1849, he records : "I have begun to write this Journal in order to regulate my mind and habits, and that I may be able to show to Emily how I am striving to do all I can to be worthy of her." From this time forward he kept his Journal fairly regularly. His earliest entries are about his studies, the books he read, the walks he took, the articles he wrote in the local paper.¹ In the "Appendix" to his Diary he reviewed from time to time the progress he had made, or the failures he had incurred.]

I returned to Cambridge in the summer of 1849, and read pretty hard till I took my degree in the following February.

The question which we had to decide, between marrying then and waiting for some years, was not an easy one.

I felt confident that if I went to a colony I should get

¹ The *Guernsey Star*.

on; and under the gallery of the House of Commons, to which my uncle Childers often took me, I heard more than one debate about the proposal to detach from New South Wales its southern district of Port Phillip, and so to form a separate colony. Lord Grey was at the time Secretary for the Colonies, and my uncle's connection with him, through his sister, Lady Mary Wood,¹ gave me reason to believe that I might get work in the new colony, the separate existence of which was to commence in 1851.²

On the other hand, Australia in those days was very little known, except as a wild country, to parts of which convicts had been and were still sent. Western Australia, founded about twenty years before, was an admitted failure. New South Wales proper and Van Diemen's Land were still convict colonies, and the only remaining colony was South Australia, which had threatened also to become a failure, and had only been saved by young Mr. Bagot's discovery of copper.

However, our minds rather tended towards the colonial proposal.

We were young, and the alternative was a long

¹ Mrs. Walbanke Childers was a sister of Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Viscount Halifax), who had married Lady Mary Grey.

² *From his Aunt, Mrs. Walbanke Childers.*

100, EATON SQUARE, *Wednesday.*

I write a line to stop your having the trouble to call this evening, as we dine out. It is not the least necessary for you to thank Lord Grey. I asked Lady Grey to get it done (obtain a letter of introduction to the Governor of Victoria) as a personal favour to myself, and then expressed my obligations to her; the only return I look for is that you should do credit to my recommendation, for of course I should feel very much annoyed if they could ever say I had compromised Lord Grey by asking him for a letter on the ground of a man being worthy of it—if it proved not to be so. I have not much fear of this, but I think the recollection will be an additional incentive to you. No one seems to know anything about French affairs, but one thing is sure, that Lord Palmerston will continue to make it appear he has done right.

engagement and doubtful success at the Bar. I think what turned the scale was the very strong opinion of my intended wife's mother, that we should do best to marry and go to Melbourne.

We finally determined to take the great step, and were married at Norton on the 28th of May, 1850, spending our honeymoon in France. Paris had entirely recovered from the effects of the 1848 Revolution, and even in the height of summer was very enjoyable.

We had a very short time to prepare for our voyage to Australia, but our cabin had been secured some weeks before, and nicely fitted up. It was the stern cabin of the *Northumberland*, a teak-built sailing-vessel of about 1000 tons, belonging to Messrs. Green, and once among the best passenger ships to and from Calcutta.

Our captain (McKerlie) was a very strict Presbyterian, but this did not prevent his reading the Church of England Service, though he made occasional curious mistakes with the rubrics. As a careful commander, he was beyond praise, and greatly esteemed by his employers. We were between forty and fifty in the first cabin, or "cuddy," besides a good many emigrants. This was the pre-digging age, and the emigrants were for the most part simple country folk, with a few of whom I kept up acquaintance in after years. The ship sailed from the Thames in the latter days of June. We joined her at Plymouth, but the weather was extraordinarily calm, and we did not get under way there till, I think, the 10th of July.

On the 10th of July we finally left with a brisk east wind, but in very hot weather; we sighted Porto Santo near Madeira, and afterwards one of the Cape Verde Islands. We left the north-east trades a good way to the north of the equator, and had a tedious passage across the doldrums. When the south-east trade-wind struck us, it was not far from a southerly wind, and we were

a good deal out of our course, towards the African coast. But, quarter-point by quarter-point, the wind became more easterly, and our course on the chart described almost a perfect half-circle till we were within a hundred miles of Tristan d'Acunha; then from east-south-east the wind very suddenly shifted to the west in a thunderstorm, and carried us through more or less boisterous sea, past the Cape of Good Hope, to about the longitude of Madagascar, when the weather improved. We then passed within sight of the rocky island of Amsterdam—on which I observe that the French have now hoisted the tricolour—and thence to the longitude of Cape Leewin.

Our course, it will be observed, was not that taken by later navigators *viâ* the Cape to Australia. One of our most favourite discussions on board referred to great-circle sailing, according to which by going well to the south (nearly as far as Kerguelen's Land and the Crozet Islands) a ship bound for Australia saved several hundred miles. But our captain had never taken that route, and had doubts about the position of the islands on the chart. He suspected also that the wind so far south blew much more from the east than on the parallel of forty degrees, where it was almost always westerly.

After passing the Leewin, we left the straight course for Cape Otway and Port Phillip, in order to make Port Adelaide, where the captain had promised to land a family. We had to go between Kangaroo Island and the mainland, and as we approached the former the barometer fell heavily, and in a few hours we were surrounded by black clouds, and a cyclone struck us. I had never seen any storm so violent. Fortunately, we were protected by the island and the high coast of South Australia, and the shifting of the wind was entirely favourable to us in making for Port Adelaide. But the ship had to take in every stitch of sail, and we had nothing with which

to keep us steady except two great mats in the main and foretops. This storm is known as "the Grecians," from a barque of that name being wrecked in it within a mile or two of the entrance to Port Adelaide. It was not very pleasant to see her so near us, as we worked up the harbour, lying upon her beam ends, and deserted.

I think, however, that she only lost two men, but she was a total wreck; she must have entered the narrow passage between Kangaroo Island and the mainland six or eight hours before we did.

We landed at Adelaide in the morning of the 15th of October, but our captain was anxious that we should be on board again that night, so that we had only time to see the town and suburbs. I thought it a dusty drive from the port to the town, but the latter gave great promise of future beauty. It is now one of the best laid-out of the Australian cities; a central, compact town, surrounded by parks and gardens.

[The autobiography ends here. Mrs. Childers, to whom it had been dictated, died after a short illness, and Mr. Childers, who only survived her a few months, made no attempt to resume the work.]

CHAPTER II.

IN AUSTRALIA.

1850-1852.

Arrival in Melbourne—Inspectorship of Schools—School System in 1851—Tour of Inspection—"Black Thursday"—Discovery of Gold—Emigration Agent—The Gold Fever in Melbourne—Appointed Auditor-General.

THE *Northumberland* reached Port Phillip on the 26th of October, 1850, after a passage of 108 days from Plymouth, and Mr. Childers in due course waited on the Superintendent. Mr. C. J. Latrobe received him kindly—no doubt favourably disposed on receiving the letter of recommendation from the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Grey).

To his Aunt, Mrs. Walbanke Childers.

ST. KILDA, near MELBOURNE, November 20, 1850.

Your kind letter, dated the 12th of July, reached us a few days ago. Unluckily it came by a slow ship, or it would have been here three weeks sooner, but I should not have been able to answer it any earlier, no ships having left for England since we came, except a slow one yesterday. I hope you saw the letters we sent home by the *Kent*, *via* Calcutta; curiously enough, we never met any ship homeward bound during the whole voyage.

Our first impressions of Australia were quite novel. We landed at Port Adelaide on the 15th, and drove up to the town. Port Adelaide is a little town about eight miles up the "creek" where vessels discharge their cargo (the *Northumberland*, not having cargo for Adelaide, remained twelve miles off in the "roads"), the creek being a sort of salt-water river, very pretty, and wooded. A steamer took us from the shipping. From Port Adelaide to the town is another eight miles of very dusty road, swarming

with vehicles of every description. As all the goods and supplies have to traverse this route, you may imagine what a highway it is—coaches, omnibuses, tandems innumerable, down to carts and drays, each with its cloud of dark dust. We (that is the cabin passengers of the *Northumberland*) chartered a four-horse omnibus, and in three-quarters of an hour were in Adelaide. The town covers a large space of ground, but has a most curious appearance, from almost every house being one-storied and unlike its neighbour. The shops appeared good, much better than you would expect, and no such thing as poverty was to be seen. Fortunately, one of the first people I saw was Eardley Heywood, who was in town for the day, and hearing from Mr. Were¹ that we had inquired for him, came to meet us at the hotel. We also saw a Captain Bagot, whose son I knew at Cambridge, who insisted on our coming to breakfast with him the next day, and drove us to all the lions of the place. The country round is certainly pretty, and the gardens are very fine; containing English and tropical plants and flowers side by side. We left South Australia on the 18th, and reached the heads of Port Phillip on the 26th, and the anchorage at Hobson's Bay on the following morning.

The appearance of Port Phillip is very fine. The bay, which is thirty miles from north to south, and twenty from east to west, is surrounded by chains of mountains and single peaks on nearly every side. Station Peak, though much higher, is the lowest part of a chain very like Malvern; Arthur's Seat is said to be like its namesake, only much higher, and the Australian Alps in the distance are as much as 7000 feet above the level of the sea. Of these, however, we only see the "spur."

We landed almost immediately in whale-boats at "Liardet's," a hotel kept by a late Captain of dragoons, and drove to the town. It being Sunday, we were happy to be able to go to church at St. Peter's, a pretty Gothic church on the Eastern Hill. Melbourne is situated upon the river Yarra, in a sort of valley formed by three hills. I give you a rough sketch of the place, which may interest you; I am afraid the proportions are very bad. We were unable to get into any house, except at extravagant rents, at first. But we have found one at St. Kilda, which will be vacant on the 1st of December, and, until

¹ Mr. J. B. Were,

then, we are at the hotel in the village, which is very clean and quiet. There are two omnibuses daily into the town, and being on the sea, we have the advantages of cool breezes and sea-bathing. I delivered my letters to Mr. Latrobe, and he said he would do all he could for me. The only vacancy at present is the Inspectorship of Schools under the Government Board. It is worth £250 a year, but I am afraid I have little or no chance of it. It would give me plenty of occupation, and a great insight into Colonial matters.

I have seen the bishop,¹ and like him very well. He has lent me some books, and promised to do anything he could for me. We dined one day last week with the Latrobes, and have been introduced to most of the better people here. I am going up to the station of the Crown Lands Commissioners this or next week, about forty miles off. We have seen a good deal of the Blomefields.² She is a very quiet little Scotchwoman. Her father lives at Geelong, and I think we shall visit him there, some day. We have here at St. Kilda Mrs. Williams, whose husband is a barrister,³ and Mr. Pohlman, the registrar and bankruptcy judge. Almost the only mercantile people we know are the Weres,⁴ who came out with us, and who have been *extremely* kind to both of us. They are Quakers, and I fancy he is a very *shrewd* business man. We hope soon to know a Mr. and Mrs. Browne, who are particular friends of the bishop; a great part of St. Kilda belongs to him.

The district of Port Phillip, with the town of Melbourne, had up to this year formed part of the colony of New South Wales. Separated from the capital by many hundred miles of forest, and as yet unconnected with it by steamer communication, its government from Sydney had long before become impracticable, and in 1839 Mr. Latrobe had been appointed Superintendent.

Jealousy between Melbourne and Sydney quickly

¹ Perry.

² Rev. S. E. Blomefield, Curate of St. Peter's, Melbourne; now Rector of Burnham Sutton, Norfolk.

³ Afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court; father of Sir Hartley Williams.

⁴ The well-known firm of J. B. Were & Sons is now represented by a son, Mr. A. B. Were.

sprang up, followed by a demand for separation; and in 1850 the Home Government passed a bill, detaching Port Phillip from New South Wales, and creating a new colony under the name of Victoria.

The news of this had reached Melbourne a few days before Mr. Childers landed.

To his Sister, Louisa.

ST. KILDA, November 30, 1850.

The only event which will amuse you much, since we have been here, is the separation festival. You know this colony used to be part of New South Wales, but now it is independent, and we are to have a Parliament, Governor, etc., here. The news of the bill for this having passed arrived here about three weeks since, and four days were appointed as a holiday, during which the shops were shut, newspapers did not appear, and everybody went mad. Fortunately there was little or no intoxication, but bonfires and fireworks were everywhere, and, as many houses are of wood, there was some danger. On the second day Mr. Latrobe opened the new bridge over the Yarra, of one arch, which is larger than any of the London bridge arches. It is the finest public work here. Of course there was a great procession; above fifteen thousand grown-up people are supposed to have been on the ground.

I am afraid we have little to tell you of ourselves. We are just leaving the little hotel where we were, and getting into our cottage, of which I give you a sketch on the other side. Then in four months we shall move again. I am in some little hopes of getting an appointment of £250 a year, which will be decided in three weeks; the bishop is doing all he can, I believe, for me, but I expect there are better men in the field. The office is Inspector of Schools under the board here, and I should have to ride about the country and examine the state of the schools, some as far as a hundred and fifty miles off. If I get it we shall want a great many books from home.

Postscript written by his Wife.

I fear you must have been expecting the letter we promised before you receive this, but the *Ann Miln*, by which we are going to send, has been so often delayed

that we were almost beginning to despair of her ever setting sail. However, it is now positively decided, and we are taking advantage of the offer of one of the passengers to send you some Melbourne newspapers, and a few engravings of the town and neighbourhood. I am sorry there is not one of St. Kilda, our present home, as it is a very pretty place. The picture at the head of this paper is taken from my house, St. Kilda; I do not think the views at all flattering, but they were taken three years ago, and of course the town is wonderfully altered and improved since then. We have taken a furnished cottage at St. Kilda for the next four months, so that we shall have the advantage of fresh air and sea bathing through the summer months; and if you could once see one of the dusty days of Melbourne, you would be able to appreciate the benefit of being at a distance from it. It is really quite laughable to see the houses springing up like mushrooms. Hugh went yesterday to see a piece of land (ten acres) which is not even enclosed yet. A house will be built, and a garden and paddock laid out, and all will be ready for our taking possession in four months' time. The rent will be £60 a year, which is very low compared with the state of rents here now. So that we consider ourselves rather fortunate. I think you would have been amused to see the fashion in which we went out to dinner yesterday evening: part of the way in an omnibus, then half a mile to walk, and for our return we considered ourselves very fortunate in finding a good-natured neighbour, who took me in his gig, Hugh and himself walking and driving by turns, as we dared not go beyond a foot's pace on account of the stumps. Was it not decidedly *Australian*? I expect we shall enlarge our acquaintance with *Australians* a good deal during this month, as all the settlers come into the town about Christmas, which is just after the sheep-shearing time. We cannot at all realize the idea of *Christmas* being so near in this weather. How much we shall be thinking of you, *if possible*, more than now. Your letters to Adelaide we have not yet received, though Hugh has written for them.

A young and energetic University man was not often to be found as a candidate for a small appointment in Australia in those days, and without much difficulty Mr. Childers obtained the office of Inspector of Schools.

From his Journal.

January 4, 1851.— . . . Called on Pohlman, and Latrobe. Pohlman spoke to me about my appointment being unanimous; I should be expected to visit the town schools quarterly. They would apply for forage money. As to an office I should speak to Latrobe. Went to the government offices. Bell advised me to call on Monday, and I should receive the official appointment. Lunched with Blomefield. *Tasman* arrived; out a hundred and forty days. Thought of writing a series of letters home (for publication) on this colony. . . .

January 5.—Church, 11 a.m. at St. Kilda. Sermon, Romans xiv. 1-3. The latter part of the sermon very bad. Mr. S—— did not qualify the declaration that heretics are worse than murderers, denouncing the "liberality" (not latitudinarianism) of the age. I do not see how any one holding these principles can consistently stop short of persecution. Thought of writing an article on the "Church canons" for the *Messenger* in reference to the opinion of the Sydney conference. Pondered over the first chapters of Genesis. Are they not different stories put together? . . .

January 6.—Received my appointment as "Inspector of Schools" from Mr. Latrobe. Called on Mrs. Browne, and met the bishop and Mrs. Perry there.

January 7.—Bought a horse for eighteen guineas. I was asked six shillings a day for the hire of a gig, and that no very good one.

January 8.—Went out shooting between this and Brighton, and shot four brace of small snipe.¹

To his Mother.

ST. KILDA, near MELBOURNE, *January 8, 1851.*

Since my last letter to you we have had no fast ship sailing for England direct from here, and only one (which I heard of too late) for Singapore. But now the ships are just beginning to leave with the wool for the May sales, and among them our old friend the *Northumberland*, who will, I intend, bring you this. . . . Events have crowded

¹ St. Kilda now melts imperceptibly into Brighton.

on each other so much since my last that I hardly know what to confine myself to. As to "separation," I suppose you will hear of it through the newspapers; of course it is the all-engrossing topic here. Mr. Latrobe is to be, we expect, "Sir Charles" and the first governor. The other arrangements are not yet made out. You will be glad to hear that I have got the appointment of "Inspector of Schools," with £250 a year. I think I told you before that I had applied for it, although with very slight hope of success. But more of this hereafter. . . . We have dined with the bishop and with the Latrobes. We have been fortunate enough to make some very nice acquaintances here; Mr. and Mrs. Pohlman (the bankruptcy judge).

The great event to ourselves has been getting into our present house, which we are to inhabit for four months, *i.e.* to the end of March. We have now been in a month and are getting on very well. I will send in our parcel to Eaton Square some sketches, including the house. It is situated at the end of St. Kilda farthest from town, within a hundred yards of the seashore, looking to the east-north-east. On the south side is the bush, and to the west the gardens attached to the hotel. We are protected from the north and north-west winds by another similar cottage at a little distance. . . .

Here we have a limited population, with immense production. Emigration in fact does not keep pace with the increase of the wool and tallow exported. While the exports of the United Kingdom are about £4 or £5 a head, Port Phillip has an export of £1,200,000 and a population of 60,000. As you may imagine, there is a great deal of profit to be divided among a very few persons, and the interest on money is proportionately high. The regular profits on sheep-farming average from twenty to twenty-five per cent. and on mercantile business far more, so that few people with capital care about investing it in mortgages. On the other hand, the builder or the agriculturist who is sure of twenty per cent. on his capital is only too glad to get any of that capital for ten.

We have a practical proof of the high rate of interest at the present moment on the subject of house rents. As we shall be out of this house in the beginning of April I have had to look out for another. The only eligible house I shall have to give £90 a year for, the cost of construction being £500, and I am told that I have got an *exceedingly* good bargain. As it is, I am obliged to take

a lease of three years. My future landlord is a settler, and with a view to improve some land he bought near town he is building two houses for *gentlemen*, at less than the current rents. I have reserved for myself the right of buying the house and eighteen acres of land round it for £1000, but I see no chance of being able to do it. The house I am in now cost, furniture and all, less than £400, rent £90 a year; two others in this village which we looked at cost £600 and £300 respectively, rents £130 and £70, and in town it is, if anything, worse. . . .

You would like to have further particulars about my appointment. I think it was Blomefield who first called my attention to the fact of an inspector of "denominational schools" being about to be appointed. You must understand that there are two systems of schools prevalent in Australia, the "Irish-National" and the "Denominational." In Van Diemen's Land they both prevail, at Sydney chiefly the former, in Victoria the latter. The "Irish-National" is Lord Stanley's¹ plan for joint education (including Scripture history) of all sects, and is better adapted to the bush and thin parishes. It is also the popular system at Sydney, as it is in Ireland. But here I think all the schools, with one or two exceptions, are on the denominational plan. Each religion has its own schools and school-boards, but as they are obliged to ask for State aid, it is granted with the sole proviso that the Government does not interfere with or even notice the religious education given. There are above seventy schools (nearly half are Church of England) on this plan here, and last year the Legislative Council voted a salary for an inspector on the part of Government to see that the money is properly applied, the instruction good, etc., etc. At present this is supposed to be done by the Board of Denominational Schools, consisting of five members, one Church of England, one Roman Catholic, etc. These gentlemen were empowered to recommend an inspector to the Government, which they did in favour of me. The bishop was very kind, and gave me testimonials, and I believe I was elected unanimously. I do not expect to make very much pecuniarily out of the appointment the first year, as there are a great many incidental expenses, but I hope to be allowed an office and "forage money" afterwards. As it is I shall be obliged to keep two horses and a man servant. I have just seen a good horse for

¹ The 14th Earl of Derby, Sec. of State for the Colonies 1841-45.

£18, and I am going to have George, who has been in a good place since we arrived. I expect that I shall like my appointment, but it will require, as you may imagine, great caution. Any partiality in favour of any religious body would be fatal to my hopes of getting on. But I think I have some very valuable friends, whose advice I can always ask. I shall enjoy riding through the bush to Portland and the distant places greatly. Some are two hundred miles from here.

I see by the papers that my piano has arrived at Adelaide, so it will be here in a week or two. The *James Gibb* (do you remember her?) has left for Callao. I am sending sundry newspapers, pictures, etc., to Eaton Square, and I hope some will (if not too bulky) reach you. I think you would be pleased with some of our periodical literature. The newspapers are abusive enough, but the magazines are very well conducted. Our judge here, Mr. Justice A'Beckett,¹ is a literary man, and we have several good writers. I am going to meet the judge next week at Mr. Pohlman's.

It strikes me that you would like to know some of the prices of things here from a colonist himself. House rent you know; servants are very variable, depending very much on the amount of emigration. But a good female servant can always get £20 a year, and a man £25. We are giving sixpence and sixpence-halfpenny for bread; twopence for meat (I believe our butcher is rather dear); three shillings a couple for fowls; eight shillings a turkey; fourteen-pence a pound for butter; one penny a pound potatoes (very dear just now); twopence-halfpenny and threepence brown sugar; five-pence-halfpenny loaf sugar; sixteen pence tea (very good); candles fivepence a pound; composite candles are very dear; coffee one shilling a pound; beer is dear, eighteen pence colonial, two shillings English, a gallon; bottled ale eight shillings a dozen. Wine is very cheap. Sherry (good) nineteen shillings a dozen; claret twenty-three shillings; brandy twelve shillings a gallon; other spirits about eight shillings a gallon. Everything in the shape of labour is expensive. We are to have our washing done at home, but at present we pay two shillings a dozen. Horses are very cheap, just about half the English price. You may get a half-broken, sound animal

¹ The first Chief Justice of Victoria, and uncle of the present Mr. Justice A'Beckett.

for £6, and good hacks range from £15 to £20. But furniture, harness, in fact everything requiring workmanship, is exorbitant.

My conclusion about the colonies is that any poor man who is industrious, tolerably sober, and sharp, *must* get on here. So will a man of capital who will exercise caution and keep above a certain class of speculation, so will a thorough man of business, or a man of strong activity or intelligence. Almost all the men who have made money by sheep are either shrewd *active* young fellows, who came out with a very little; or else men of considerable *capital combined with intelligence*; nothing else will do here.

I must now wind up my "Information about Victoria." I conclude this will reach you at Nice, so I need not send messages to English relations. . . .

Journal (1851) continued.

January 9.—Went to the Government sale of horses. Put my horse in the break. Saw Pyke's "Rookwood," price £25. . . . Called on Mr. Pohlman and consulted him about my appointment. He undertook to apply for £35 per annum forage money. Approved of my suggestion of examining the past minutes. Talked about an office.

January 10.—Hired a room at No. 62 Little Collins Street for an office; twelve shillings a week. Went to the Insolvent Court office, and read through the minutes of the Denominational Board and some of the correspondence. Copied out and epitomized the dispute with Bishop Gould.¹ Put my horse again into the break. Looked at a dog-cart.

January 11.—Gazetted to the Inspectorship, dating January 1st. "A very well deserved appointment" (*Daily News*).

January 15.—Bought a gig-cart for twenty-six guineas, a very good bargain. Met the Board at Mr. Pohlman's office, Supreme Court at two o'clock. Received my instructions (rather wordy); I am to visit every school before my first quarterly report. Introduced to Mr. Ogilvy and Mr. Robert Smith. The former will be, I

¹ Roman Catholic Bishop (afterwards Archbishop) of Melbourne; keenly opposed free and secular education.

suspect, difficult to please ; the other, I should say, good-natured. Pohlman very kind as usual. . . .

January 18.—Woke up about 3.30 for the eclipse, of which, on account of the clouds, I saw but little. Bought a horse for £11. Mr. and Mrs. Poingdestre called, and Mr. Poingdestre walked into town with me. Took my cart to Heales and Carter to be painted and fitted with an outrigger. Called on Mr. Trollope. Talked to him for some time about schools. He has promised to write to Sydney and Van Dieman's Land for me. Dined at Dr. Palmer's. Met there Mr. Pohlman, Mr. Jeffries, Mr. Mollison, and Mr. Budd. Played two games (1 : 1) of chess with Dr. Palmer. Discussed "expediency" and "baptism" with Mr. Budd. Does not the "prayer of faith" or "prayer unto God," on which the bishop rests the efficacy of baptism, mean the prayer of the Church? and are not "sponsors" or "parental presentation" matters of Church discipline, but not essentials of baptism? I expressed my opinion that there is no medium between the Church's doctrine and that of the Calvinists at home, who build upon "prevenient grace."

January 22.—Rode into town to the office. Called upon Mr. Latrobe. Bell very civil. Prepared a catalogue of the western schools at the Supreme Court. Called on the Roman Catholic bishop about his new schools. Wrote to the clergy in the West intimating that I should inspect soon. Bought some things at sale of Mr. Jackson's furniture.

On the 25th January he started on his first tour of inspection through the western district of the colony : by Geelong, Mount Noorat to Portland, and back by the Grampians.

To his Wife.

GLENARMISTON, *January 29, 1851.*

I do not exactly know how and when this will reach you, but as there is a hot wind blowing, and we cannot get on this afternoon, I will tell you our adventures hitherto.

We left Geelong about six o'clock on Monday morning,
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and contrived to lose our way almost directly. However, we got into the right track, and then went about ten miles right, after which we took a wrong turn, and got down into the Modewarra Forest. Then we wandered about the bush for two or three hours, but finally got right again, and arrived at Beal's Inn on the Barwon about nine, for breakfast. In the evening we started again, and reached a Mr. Dennis's station, about forty-four miles from Geelong, by sundown. Here we slept, being hospitably received by Mr. Dennis. . . . Yesterday morning we were off at half-past six, and got to Colac—seven miles. There there is a village of about four hundred inhabitants, and a lake. There is a National school going on, and a Roman Catholic to be, which latter I had to make inquiries about. From this another seven miles took us to Mr. Richardson's, who gave us some luncheon. From this we had fifteen miles to Cape Poormbeet, the most dreadful road you can possibly imagine, through a very thick forest. They call it the Stony River, the road being all the way like the bed of a dry creek, rather worse than the Marr Creek. Extraordinarily, nothing about the carriage was broken, but of course we had to go very slowly, and it was nearly seven o'clock when we got to Mr. Manifold's station on the lake. To-day we were off before six, and arrived here (sixteen miles) by half-past nine. It was a burning, hot-wind day, and, in addition, the bush is on fire for miles together; in fact, we had to drive fast at one time to get out of it. We shall wait till to-morrow to go on to Belfast (thirty miles). Some of the country is beautiful, some very dreary. The lakes are generally lovely, so is some of the road near Geelong, and cultivation is as great there as in England. The country is volcanic, and interspersed with peaks and lakes. The bush tracks are very puzzling, and in some places almost invisible. In the middle of the stony river you hardly see more than a sheep-walk, and the grass, when it is not burnt, so often very high. There are plenty of birds of different sorts about. To-day I saw a great number of kangaroos, and the wild turkeys are numerous. I shot a very fine one yesterday, weighing about sixteen pounds, and gave it to Mr. Manifold. The cockatoos fly about in great numbers.

This place is a Mr. Black's station, but Mr. Gray, who is a Commissioner of Crown Lands, is staying here. The house is built of stone, and very nicely furnished. The room I am in is about the size of your father's dining-

room, only a little higher. There are good stabling and kitchen, and the farm is two miles off. You would be astonished to see how comfortable some of these stations are, with their gardens and vineyards.

WARRNAMBOOL, *January 31.*

We had a misfortune on arriving at Mr. Black's, which has turned out rather unpleasant. The shaft-horse took to kicking, but only hurt his own leg. However, yesterday it was so much inflamed that I was persuaded to stay, and this morning it was no better. I therefore bought a remarkably fine horse from Mr. Gray, who has undertaken to dispose of the other as soon as he is well. Accordingly, this morning we started, and arrived here at seven o'clock, about forty miles, almost all only a bush track. Some of the scenery to-day was pretty, particularly the Hopkins river, with a beautiful foot-bridge across a deep ravine. This place is very pretty, on a hill about half a mile from the coast, with a pretty harbour and pier. My new horse came here in capital style; he is a superb riding horse also, much larger than the other. To-morrow we go to Belfast, where I will finish and post this. By-the-bye, I visited a remarkable extinct volcano at Mr. Black's, and went out shooting. Their run is full of kangaroos, whom the dogs hunt, and I have seen some emus. I have also shot pigeons, laughing jackasses, etc., etc.

On February 23 he records: First child born—a very fine boy; mother and son doing well.

BELFAST, PORT FAIRY, *February 2.*

We got here safely yesterday—about eighteen miles. I spent yesterday evening with the clergyman, Dr. Braim, who preached a beautiful sermon to-day. He is a clever man, of about thirty-eight. The eclipse was very clear yesterday, but it was not quite so dark as I expected. To-morrow I inspect a Roman Catholic school, and on Tuesday Dr. Braim's. I hope to be in Portland on Wednesday. I am very well, and so are George and the horses.

To his Mother.

MELBOURNE, February 25, 1851.

. . . On the 25th of January I started on my first tour of inspection through the western district of the colony. If you have Ham's map (in Westgarth) you must trace my route by Geelong, the Lakes, Mount Noorat, Belfast to Portland, and home by the Grampians and Bonenzon. In all some five hundred and forty miles. I drove a sort of dogcart, with two horses, one "outrigger" (like the horses on the Continent at the "side" of the regular ones), the other in the shafts. It is better than tandem over this part of the country. I was away three weeks and two days, during which time I inspected six and visited seven schools, some in a tolerably efficient state. They are of all denominations, nearly three-quarters being Protestant. As you may imagine, I am over head and ears in work, having to complete the inspection of seventy odd schools (and visits to others besides), to draw up a very minute report, which I get on with partly on the way, and to enter fully into the failings and requirements of education here in about two months' time. The latter part is especially onerous, as, upon the separation of Port Phillip from New South Wales, we want to see a pretty efficient system established. At present there are two rival boards—the "National" and the "Denominational"—both under government supervision; no training schools, no building fund (for the Denominational), and very clumsy regulations. But *on va changer tout cela*. My appointment is now worth £285 a year, out of which I have to pay my expenses, and to find myself an office in town, stationery, etc. But I hope next year to receive £400 at least, and to be allowed office expenses. My friends are all very kind, and if I can manage not to quarrel with any of the "denominations" (who are very warlike here), I shall do very well. Unfortunately, our bishop has been very injudicious in his controversial doings, and the result is that the jealousy between the different creeds is dreadful. I was, happily, proposed by a Roman Catholic and seconded by a Wesleyan, so I made a fair start. But as my first report will have to tell that greatest of libels, truth, I am afraid I shall not be able to be everything to all men.

We have not much local news for you. You will have seen in the papers accounts of the Australian League, and of the dreadful "Black Thursday" and its results. I never

saw such a sight as that day—the whole country apparently in a blaze, with a hot hurricane blowing; thermometer 107 degrees in the shade! The damage done is calculated at nearly £200,000 in the colony, chiefly corn, farm buildings, sheep, etc. But it is more than covered by the advance of twopence a pound on wool and £5 a ton on tallow in the London market, which represents about £240,000. Sad to say, nearly twenty lives are reported as being lost. . . .

But the effects on the Colony of "Black Thursday" and the bad harvest were as nothing compared with the momentous changes which were at hand. The discoveries now on the eve of taking place were destined to revolutionize the hitherto purely pastoral colonies. In May it was reported that gold had been found in New South Wales, and on the same day (1st July, 1851) that Victoria was celebrating the commencement of her independent existence a similar find was made at Clunes, seventy miles to the north-west of Melbourne. Discoveries at Mount Alexander and Ballarat quickly followed. The gold fever set in, and Melbourne was deserted. In the words of one of Mr. Childers's Victorian colleagues¹:—

"Farms were abandoned, flocks were left unshepherded, professional men cast aside their pens, merchants closed their ledgers, sailors deserted from their ships, warders in the gaols resigned; the constables, with one exception, cast aside their batons. . . . To complete the chaos of confusion, constant arrivals from all countries poured into the comparatively small town. Hundreds were sleeping in the streets. Food, clothing, rent, all reached fabulous prices. Gold poured in, and was squandered in the grossest dissipation; property, which only a few months before had been reckoned valueless, rose to enormous prices."

To his Mother.

MELBOURNE, July 22, 1851.

Our postal communication is just now *au comble de malheur*, ships leaving at the rate of one in two months:

¹ "Australia," by J. F. Vesey FitzGerald, late Colonial Secretary, Victoria.

and in a few months we shall be in the opposite plight, with new arrivals and departures almost every day. So you must not think us very negligent in having written so little. . . .

I suppose you have heard full particulars of the gold. We are now settling down pretty well, and the excitement and crisis is long over. Provisions, etc., have recovered their proper price, and we have plenty of labour in the market. But we are always more or less liable to these rumours of change. I hope that all these discoveries will bring us plenty of immigrants, and stop transportation, the curse of these colonies. I hear to-day that there is a new goldfield discovered in the Pyrenees, about a hundred and fifty miles from Melbourne. I hope it is true, as it will bring people here. We are in a tolerably prosperous state at present, the increase of the wool trade being very steady. I look forward to the colony being very important in a few years if it advances as it has done lately.

I send you some documents about our Conference of the Church which has been held in Melbourne this month. I was delegate for the parish of East Brighton. I hope our discussions will have been useful. I found myself, I think, on the right side of the question generally, and was able to speak on several occasions. If you have any money to spare to the Church, pray send it to me as a contribution to the "Endowment Fund," of which I am one of the administrators. You will see what the object of the fund is, by the "minutes." (No connection with Sir T. B.'s¹ fund.)

I only made two regular speeches: one in bringing forward a motion to make clergymen "corporations sole," as in England; and the other in opposition to a proposal to disconnect the Australian dioceses.

I have concluded my first inspection, and just sent in my first half-yearly report on the state of education in the colony. We are now doing our best to effect the union of the two school systems under one board, to which I think almost every one here will be favourable. If I succeed in this I shall hope to make public instruction a more important feature of the government than it has been hitherto. I am to be secretary as well as inspector to the board, or to the commissioners if the boards are united, in which latter case I shall hope to get £500 a year, including travelling

¹ Sir Thomas Blomefield's.

expenses. The bishop has been exceedingly kind, and is assisting me in every way. Compared with colonial bishops generally, he is a very liberal man, and his beautifully logical mind is particularly adapted to aid one in matters of education. . . .

You will have seen accounts, I dare say, of the inauguration of our new Government.¹ Mr. Pohlman is made a Master in Equity, with a seat in the Council, and Mr. Stawell² is Attorney-General; both of them are great friends of mine. Blomefield's brother-in-law, Campbell, is made chief clerk in the Colonial Secretary's office, answering to Under-Secretary of State at home. Mr. Langston has also got a move, being accountant in the Post-office, which is worth £200 a year. I am to be allowed £100 for this year (besides my £250), and next year I shall have a regular office, with clerk, etc. I believe I might have a chance of being made Clerk to the Council (if I choose to give up my present berth), which is worth £300 a year, with nothing to do; but I would rather work hard at this, with a prospect of getting on.

One thing will perhaps amuse you, which is that I have been strongly recommended to read law. Our "bar" here is very weak at present, and there is a power to admit to the bar here after a certain examination. I am told that in six or nine months I should be sure to be called (my degree would help me), and I should get plenty of practice directly. I have my doubts about it, and I am to call on the judge, who has been very kind to me, and get his advice. His brother is my neighbour, and is to be Mr. Moore's partner. . . .

From his Wife to his Mother.

ST. KILDA, August 30, 1851.

. . . The other event is, that Hugh will perhaps change his appointment soon, and become the Immigration Agent instead of Inspector of Schools. Mr. Latrobe sent for him the other day, and after complimenting him exceedingly upon the manner in which he had discharged the duties of his office, etc., said he wished to give him something better. Hugh had been thinking—and rather wishing—

¹ On the separation of Port Phillip from New South Wales.

² Afterwards Sir William Stawell, Chief Justice of Victoria for nearly thirty years.

for the clerkship to the Council (the Council will be the same as our Parliament), but did not like to apply for it. Mr. Latrobe said if he had known this a short time ago he might have had it, but as it was, he had something better in view for him. It is not yet decided, but must be soon. . . .

To his Sister.

October 18, 1851.

. . . You will, I suppose, have heard some time since of the wonderful discoveries which have been made in this colony. Among our neighbours in New South Wales the gold digging commenced in May last, and the produce has been very great, but it was not until the middle of September that any great discoveries were made here. When they were made it was almost incredible. The great diggings were, and are, at Ballarat, a place about seventy-five miles from Melbourne, and at first the whole of the adult male population began to take flight thither. In a week's time six or seven thousand people were digging, washing, and prospecting ; some with great success, some with moderate, some with none. Of course, we who could not move were in great doubt as to what would happen, prices having frightfully risen (bread, fifteen pence ; tea, two shillings ; sugar, five pence ; water, four shillings, etc.) ; and servants giving notice ; but things are getting straight again now. Gold digging is dreadfully fatiguing work, and five out of six men cannot stand it ; so we are likely to go on pretty much as before, from the great increase in our numbers from other colonies. Yesterday three hundred men came over from Van Dieman's Land, and there are great overland expeditions from Adelaide and elsewhere. . . .

I am quite an official personage here now. I hold, at the present moment, no less than four offices under the Crown, two of which will certainly be permanent. I am getting on very well in the immigration work, which I like very much. Mr. Latrobe has given me the entire control of the department, and it will be very interesting. I think you know for that I get £350 a year, and a promise of an increase.

I am still connected with schools, being Secretary to the Educational Board, with £100 a year. The Government is going to bring in a bill this session to carry out the system of schools which I proposed, which will be, I

think, successful. I am, in addition to these, at the present time connected with the Cemetery Board, and I hope we may be able to lay out a second Père la Chaise. One feels great interest in these arrangements in a young colony. . . .

Emmy has had some riding, and would have had more, but I cannot afford a second horse until hay is cheaper. Her horse is now used for all purposes—such a nice creature. We are going into town in three weeks from now. Mr. Latrobe will not let me live in the country, now that I have so much Government work to do; so we have taken a house at Collingwood, near where the Blomefields have been till lately. It is a nice house for this colony, with a little garden; but, of course, not like living in the country. I send you a little plan, which I know you will like. We shall be next door to Mr. Langston, and within a very short distance of Mrs. Poingdestre, Aunt Mary's friend. When we are in town I shall be at work from eight a.m. to four p.m., regularly, besides extra work when ships come in.

I must now leave the gossip and family news for Emmy to give you, as I am rather tired with a week's hard work, and Saturday evenings are precious. Tell mother that she must now get Uncle Childers to send her the parliamentary papers about the colonies, where there will be sundry of my doings to be found. . . .

To his Mother.

ST. KILDA, November 20, 1851.

I suppose you have heard of the gold discovery. Ophir appears likely to out-do California. The diggings are five hundred miles from Melbourne on the Sydney side, but we feel the effects already. Provisions were dear before, in consequence of the bad harvest and long drought, but now they are dreadful. We are paying one shilling for a four-pound loaf, and threepence a pound for meat, and other things have likewise risen. Hay is £8 a ton, oats five shillings a bushel, and so on.

But this colony will, in the end, profit greatly by the discovery. Transportation is doomed (it would be absurd to send hordes of vagabonds into a gold country), and we shall instead get a healthy emigration, not so much of starved paupers as of hard-working miners, navvies, etc. I am very busy at present, or would write more at full. I

have to finish a vast amount of reports to Government by the end of the month. I have a very important political office just now, being virtually a sort of Minister of Instruction at a time when the whole question has to be considered.

To his Sister.

BRUNSWICK STREET, MELBOURNE, *December 16, 1851.*

. . . What we fully expect in another fortnight is that there will be no clerks left in Melbourne, as at the end of the year they all seem to have made up their minds to be "off to the diggings!" I wish I could give you any idea of the state of things here. We, the unfortunate *gentle people*, are reduced to a most subservient state. As an instance of what we are coming to, our friend, Mr. Were, went into a shop the other day to buy some bread, his cook having refused to bake. There was none to be had, excepting some *pieces*; so with these he was obliged to content himself for the whole of his large family! . . .

To his Mother.

IMMIGRATION OFFICE, MELBOURNE, *December 22, 1851.*

I have just heard some secret intelligence, viz. that a ship leaves for England to-morrow morning with four or five tons of gold on board, so I shall have only time to write you a hurried note. I am very hard at work in the Immigration and Education Departments, and am very well. My reports have been published and laid before the Council, and have been, I believe, considered satisfactory. The result is that I am no longer Secretary to the Denominational School Board, but (from the 1st of January) one of the National Commissioners of Education, which, with increased honour, involves increased office-work.

We hope to establish by June, 1852, a sound national system of education, not excluding any of the different orders of schools now in vogue, but consolidating and improving all. I believe that it is not absolutely impossible, but this is of course a secret, that I may be by then a member of Council as a nominee of Government. Gold is of course now the great subject of talk and thought. I have sold my gig and horses, dismissed my men to the diggings, and am keeping very quiet until things alter.

Prices are enormous, and every one is gone to Mount Alexander who can possibly go. The riches and consequent excesses will soon be immense, and we wait with great anxiety for a supply of emigrants and military from home to set things right. The produce of the mines is now about £100,000 a week! the escorts alone having brought down £130,000 worth in the last fortnight. Those who have been in California say that the mines there cannot for an instant be compared with those in this country. As you may imagine, this will give me plenty of work.

Political movements are great here. My friend, Mr. Pohlman, is going to be made a judge, and there will be a general promotion among the lawyers. The Government and the Council (Parliament) have quarrelled about the gold, and there is a sad standstill in consequence. I am afraid that Mr. Latrobe has some very bad counsellors near him.

To his Mother.

BRUNSWICK STREET, MELBOURNE, *August 1, 1852.*

... Now let me tell you all our Australian news. The gold is worse than ever, the produce being estimated now at 100,000 ounces at least a week; £350,000, or £18,000,000 per annum. Is it not fearful? *Prices are rising* still in most cases; some, however (building, etc.), are rather lower. The people are flocking in from the neighbouring colonies, and our population cannot be less than 150,000, of whom probably 90,000 are adult males. They are pretty well in order: the police are improving, and the juries very strict, so that there is less violence than I anticipated. The Government is going on badly, the useless men still holding their places, and salaries being so low that all *esprit de corps* is nearly gone. Poor Mr. Latrobe, I pity him sincerely, as he is a good and industrious man, but so wedded to old habits and old friends that I fear he will get into trouble ere long. However, we are looking with joy to the arrival of a regiment (the 59th) and a frigate. If we had half a dozen good men of business in some of the principal departments things would rapidly improve.

The *first steamer* from England, the *Clusan*, seven hundred tons, came in on the 29th, having run (excluding stoppages) the distance in sixty-five days. We hope to

have the *Australian*, which was to leave on the 3rd of June, before the end of the week. We got one letter from you by the *Chusan*, and only one of, I think, the 20th of February is missing.

I am still Immigration Agent, and my duties are *terribly increasing*. We expect ten ships next month, with above three thousand people, each of which I have to inspect and pass, besides endless office-work. I have completed within the last fortnight my two great works; the analysis of immigration since 1838 and my first report. The former is, and the latter is to be printed, and I will send them both to Uncle Childers. You will, I dare say, see a good deal of my statistics in the House of Commons emigration papers. All the returns of wages, prices, arrivals, etc., go through me, and are certified by my signature, and I dare say many will be thought interesting enough to be copied. . . .

If Mr. Latrobe was "wedded to old habits and old friends," he was at the same time able to recognize merit in young men: for before Mr. Childers had been two years in the colony he received from the Governor the offer of the Auditor-Generalship, an appointment carrying with it a seat in the Legislative Council and duties analogous to those of a Chancellor of the Exchequer.

To his Mother.

MELBOURNE, October 24, 1852.

. . . You will be glad to hear that I have got another step. On the 7th Mr. Latrobe sent for me and offered me the office of Auditor-General. On the following day, after consulting our friends, I accepted the appointment; and I have now been in office above a fortnight.

You will be curious to know all about my new post. I am not in the Executive Council; but I have the third seat in the Legislative. My salary is £1200 a year, and will possibly be more.

The duties of the Auditor-General are, generally, the control and expounding of the finance of the colony. In his office the public accounts (with the exception of the actual payments and receipts which are made in the Treasury) are kept, nothing being authorized to be

expended or collected without his intervention. In the Council he is Chancellor of the Exchequer, having to introduce and carry through the Budget and all money bills.

You will be, I am sure, very nervous (as I have myself been) in viewing the immense responsibility and difficulty which will be entailed upon so young and inexperienced a man as myself. At times of such unparalleled uncertainty, in a state of society unheard of in the annals of civilization,¹ to have the control and management of the immense public funds of this colony is indeed a most onerous task. But I have made up my mind, with God's help, to look it fully in the face, and I will not flinch. My political principles are known in the colony, as I am known not to belong to the "old school," which has so mismanaged matters here. And, lastly, my predecessor chose to resign within three weeks of the time for bringing forward the Budget; and as he had left nearly all the work to do, there is a certain romance in one's sitting down to so arduous a task, which will greatly help me. I myself know many who would have done far better than myself; but it was not my duty to point them out, and, indeed, if I had, I suppose the Governor's mind was made up. I, however, told him fairly that I could only do my best, and that he must not blame me if I were to fail. . . .

As you may imagine, I have been hard at work, on the average, nine or ten hours a day, since entering upon my duties. The Budget is nearly finished, and will be in print before the end of the week. Our revenue next year, if the gold export duty is carried, will not be much under £2,000,000. Imagine the disposition of this enormous sum—greater than the revenue of England in Queen Bess's days—being under my control. I have a good office (as to clerks), and I hope to work well with my colleagues. We are sadly in want of a Colonial Secretary (or Prime Minister). . . .

Mr. Childers entered his new office as Auditor-General on the 11th of October, 1852, and one of his first acts was to obtain leave from Mr. Latrobe to propose to the Legislative Council the establishment of a University. On the 4th of November he made his first Budget speech in

¹ *Vide* similar language in Lord John Russell's despatch, on p. 64.

introducing the estimates, which included £10,000 on account of the proposed University, to the importance of which he drew special attention, remarking that "Sydney had a University, and he trusted that before long Melbourne would be also able to boast of one."

Subsequently he moved for a committee of seven members to consider the subject, and in speaking to the motion, said—

"It is necessary to found a system of education in the colony applicable not only to children, but to adults; and I am one of those who look forward to the time when the colony will have its own institutions. I look forward to the time when the colony will have its own Inns of Court; when physicians will be able to learn their profession in it, and when the clergy of all denominations will be able to study in the colony for their sacred calling, and to obtain that amount of learning necessary to make them the moral and spiritual guides of the people. There has been a great deal said as to whether the democratic or aristocratic principle ought to prevail in the colony; if there is to be an aristocracy it should be one of intelligence, and not of wealth, for nothing can be more dangerous to the welfare of the colony than an aristocracy of wealth; nothing can, by the blessing of Divine Providence, be more calculated to bring the colony safely through all its dangers and difficulties than the encouragement of education in the land."

The motion was put and carried, and the following members were named: The Attorney-General, the Speaker, the Chairman of General Sessions, Mr. O'Shanassy, Mr. Fawkner, Dr. Murphy, and the Auditor-General (Mr. Childers).

On the 6th of January the Auditor-General brought up the Report of the Committee, which recommended that the site should not be in the city of Melbourne, but somewhere near it, and that £20,000 should be appropriated to the erection of the building.

On the 11th of January, Mr. Childers brought in a



VIEW OF MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY FROM THE GARDENS.

[To face p. 46, Vol. I.]

bill for establishing the University of Melbourne,¹ and fixing the sum of £9000 per annum as its endowment. The bill was read a second time three days after, passed on the 21st, and received the Royal assent on the 9th of February, 1853. Sir Redmond Barry² was appointed the first Chancellor, and Mr. Childers the first Vice-Chancellor.

To his Mother.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL CHAMBER,
MELBOURNE, December 31, 1852.

. . . In the first place let me thank you for your very kind letters in answer to our February [1852] letters about going home. Our later communications will have, I hope, relieved your mind as to our being either in distress of mind or in pecuniary difficulty consequent on our remaining here. We have certainly had to go through most trying times, in a country surrounded by excitement of every kind, with unheard-of extravagance of prices, and want of almost every substantial comfort. But things are to a certain extent mending, and although we are very far from being in that comfort which used to obtain in these colonies, we no longer feel that dread of the future and present misery which we have undergone. Emily and the children are very well. . . .

My duties I am now getting tolerably accustomed to. At first I felt somewhat strange in managing between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000 a year, but I am now getting more used to "figures," and the estimates being nearly

¹ *To Mr. L. Mackinnon.*

January 14, 1881.

The bill was drawn by Mr. Stawell and myself. I have the original draft in my possession now. When the bill passed Mr. Latrobe asked Barry to be the first Chancellor, and myself the first Vice-Chancellor. My recollection is that Barry entered into the business *con amore* from the first, and that to him, far more than to me, is due the early progress of the University. I also proposed to Mr. Latrobe to found the Public Library, and to make Barry the senior trustee. I was one of the trustees with Stawell, D. G. MacArthur, and another, whose name I do not remember.

² For many years Judge of the Supreme Court; his statue is conspicuous in front of the Public Library in Melbourne.

through, I hope soon to get my department into good and satisfactory order. I am sending to my Uncle Childers some of the financial papers of the session, which will give you some idea of what we are doing. I believe that I am considered to have been tolerably successful, so far, in the House, and I have already effected sundry reforms which cannot but be useful.

My salary has been carried at £1200, without any difficulty, and I have above twenty subordinates. However, I must take another opportunity of communicating to you more details of our private and public politics.

You will be glad to hear that we have made a good arrangement about houses. The bishop is vacating the very pretty cottage which he has inhabited for nearly five years, and we have succeeded in getting it. By good arrangement I have managed to dispose of our present lease (two years), so that we shall have to pay no more than before. The new house is somewhat larger than our present one, and has the advantage of a large garden, good out-buildings, and to be surrounded by Government reserves, so that we shall practically be in the country. We are the next-door neighbours to the Governor, and about two-thirds of a mile from the entrance to the city.

You will be, I suppose, overwhelmed with newspaper accounts of the colony and its wonders. Some of the statements and projects which we read of in the newspapers are so amusing that I almost feel inclined to write a true account of the colony, for general information. But I suppose others have the same intention, and far more time to do it in.

I think the yield of gold is not very different from what it has been for some months, that is, 100,000 to 120,000 ounces per week. We are, on the other hand, receiving immigrants from all parts of the world at the rate of nearly 100,000 a year. We shall have all sorts of changes in prices of every sort, but at present we are not receiving merchandise and provisions in proportion to living beings. . . .

CHAPTER III.

A YOUNG ADMINISTRATOR.

1853-1856.

Visit to Sydney—Appointed Collector of Customs—Sir Charles Hotham—New Constitution—Colonial Self-government—Out of Office—Returned as Member for Portland—Opening of the New Houses of Parliament—"Lost in the Bush!"

To his Mother.

NORMONT, near MELBOURNE, *February 13, 1853.*

. . . BOTH the children are remarkably well, and so is Emily. Charlie is now nearly two years old, and is two feet eight and a half inches high. Lennie¹ is nearly nine months old, and can stand up pretty well. He is two feet two and three-quarter inches. I am accurate on these points, as we had a general measuring yesterday, and I found that I had grown half an inch since I left home, being now six feet and a quarter of an inch. We are very comfortably settled in our nice new house. In consequence of my having a lease of the other, I was able to make very advantageous terms with the landlord (my friend and successor as Immigration Agent), and found myself worth above £1000, including what I had saved. This I have laid out upon the house in which we were, so that I am only really paying at present £170 a year for rent, and have a good house of my own to fall back upon if we are obliged to leave this.

The gold discoveries are still moving onwards. The quantity now sent down to town is about 70,000 ounces a week, but this is the worst season of the year. Last week three "nuggets" were found in a place called Canadian Creek at Ballarat, weighing 134 pounds, 90

¹ Leonard, his second son, was born on the 15th of May, 1852.

pounds, and 83 pounds respectively. I saw the first, which is the largest lump ever found in the world. The men who found it only left England last June, and were offered £6000 for it; but they took their passages home at once, and I suppose it will be a "great exhibition." The wife of one of them came to the Treasury to see the "nugget," and looked such a sensible woman that I am quite glad it has fallen into such good hands.

I am afraid that you do not much care for all these stories about money, but Chancellors of the Exchequer are supposed to know about nothing else, and it infallibly oozes out into their letters. *My* revenue is now going on at the rate of £200,000 to £250,000 a month, and everything looks well for the present. We are, however, laying up a store for the bad times, our surplus at present being £850,000, not a bad surplus even for Mr. Disraeli.¹ I am carrying out what I hope will turn out considerable reforms in sundry branches of the Government, and I find Mr. Latrobe very willing to help me. I think that before long I shall be (what the Auditor should have been from the first) member of the Executive Council. By a curious anomaly the second officer in the Civil Government was omitted in the home instructions, but the Governor has written home for leave to alter the commission. Practically, however, it will not make much difference, as Mr. Latrobe always consults me, and leaves general matters to the Attorney-General and myself. . . .

Our great political rejoicing just now is the paragraph in the Queen's speech about transportation. I wish that all the ladies in England would, for the sake of their sons, brothers, cousins, and friends in Australia, petition for its immediate abolition. We have at present nearly eight hundred prisoners in our jails, and the Melbourne assizes which are now going on witness the trial of a hundred and eighteen prisoners, some for two offences. As we have no less than twelve circuit courts in the country, in addition to the six Melbourne assizes, and quarter sessions going on all through the year, you may imagine the fearful crime which this represents. Of the prisoners nine-tenths were transported. Is it not abominable to visit on a free colony, receiving at the rate of seven or eight thousand English emigrants a month, so horrible a curse as this? . . .

¹ Who had been for a brief period Chancellor of the Exchequer in England.

To his Wife.

SYDNEY, May 12, 1853.

... "*Vedi Napoli, e poi muori!*" You can have no idea of the beauty of Sydney harbour. We were not very fortunate in the view, as we came in only a few minutes after sunrise, and the air was thick, but it is *lovely*. From the heads to the town, six or seven miles, you sail between most beautiful promontories, bays, and creeks, rich with native vegetation, and ornamented with innumerable villas and gardens to the water's edge. It is quite impossible to describe it on paper, so I will not attempt it, but I do not know how one will be able to exist after this in that hideous Melbourne.

Sir Charles Nicholson's,¹ where I am, is about two miles from the wharf, and about a mile from the heart of Sydney (if it can be said to have any central spot). It is a very nice old house, with a library such as you see in very few of the best houses in England, about the size of a small college chapel. I am sitting in it now, and cannot believe that I am in Australia. I have a capital bedroom, and am very comfortable.

Sydney would, I think (independently of its indescribable situation), delight you. The streets are Christian, that is to say, they are of a decent width, and not necessarily straight. George Street is a mixture of High Street in Worcester and High Street in Oxford, with some excellent buildings and an *old* look. The city has a far more ancient look than many of its own size in England (Brighton, Cheltenham, Derby), and the shops and public buildings and arrangements are excellent. There is an abundance of churches, with spires and old country styles, and several ancient-looking barracks and hospitals. Altogether I am amazed. Then the domain is a fine park, with delicious drives by the water's edge, and the gardens are most luxuriant. Further, the people do not look so frightfully young as they do in Melbourne.

I went with Sir Charles to the Council yesterday (it was opened the day before) and heard a *pro forma* meeting. They are old and bald, and looking something like a steady-going and *respectable* set. I was introduced to a

¹ At that time Speaker of the Legislative Council of New South Wales; at present (1901) living at Totteridge, and maintaining a keen interest in Australian affairs.

good many of the leading men: the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Merewether; the Attorney-General, Mr. Darvall, and some more. I like Mr. Thomson's look and manner, and I think Mr. Plunkett must be a fine character.

The Council chamber is a lofty and admirably proportioned room, nicely fitted up, and all the arrangements are good.

My college friend, Alfred Stephen,¹ called on me yesterday, and dined with us. I took care of his mother in the steamer, for which he was grateful, and we talked over old college days. . . .

From his Wife to his Mother.

June 1, 1853.

During Hugh's absence at Sydney I have been spending two or three days in the country lately, at Pentridge. It is one of the principal stockades, that is, a station for convicts, and we were staying with a Mrs. Barrow. Her husband is the police magistrate there, and the house was close to the stockade itself, not a particularly pleasant neighbourhood, as the chains of the prisoners, the calling of the sentries, and an enormous bell which rings every half-hour, were quite within hearing. The poor children scarcely slept at all the first night; afterwards they became accustomed to it. I think I told you in my last letter of the state of excitement in Melbourne about the Governor's ball. It went off exceedingly well, and I think has been as successful *politically* as could be wished. Mr. Latrobe himself seems highly pleased, and his popularity is wonderfully increased. . . .

Hugh will be *very* busy when he comes back—an entire new Constitution to be framed by the Council and his own particular business of the Estimates in addition. I suppose the salaries will be again increased, and it will be highly necessary. The price of meat is to be one shilling a pound soon, and rents are still rising. Ours is very low, £400 a year. We sometimes say that when we return to England our friends will think us most extravagant in our ideas. A shilling is almost less than nothing here. . . .

¹ Son of Sir Alfred Stephen, then Chief Justice of New South Wales, who died in 1894.

To his Mother.

NORMONT near MELBOURNE, July 8, 1853.

. . . I was exactly a month from home, of which ten days were spent at sea between this and Sydney. That town is a most beautiful and delightful place, inferior in situation, climate, and scenery to, I should think, none in the world. You must imagine an entrance of about a mile broad through lofty heads into a wide and deep port, surrounded with rich verdure, dotted over with islands, and consisting, in fact, of a succession of coves and bays running under hills of every height and appearance. Sydney itself is well built, of fine granite and freestone, surrounded by villas and gardens, and looking three hundred years old. It contains, with the suburbs, nearly 100,000 inhabitants. I was staying with the Speaker of the Legislative Council, Sir Charles Nicholson, and was very kindly fêted by everybody. I dined twice at Government House (which in outward appearance, as well as in style and courtliness, is a small Windsor Castle), was at the levée and the great ball (Queen's birthday), and saw all the leading people, among whom I made a good many friends. If you ever came to Australia, my dearest mother, I am sure you would greatly enjoy Sydney. Fancy our May (your November) with fine weather, warm still, and refreshing like an English June. They feel hot *winds* far less than at Melbourne, although the average heat is ten degrees greater.

While I was at Sydney the Council of the Melbourne University did me the honour to elect me Vice-Chancellor. I am at present hard at work upon the Estimates for 1853-54. I hope to see them on the table of the House by the 15th of August (we meet on the 2nd of August), and if possible to get through the session by the end of October. All my proposals, with very slight exceptions, have been adopted by the Governor. One which is to be laid before the Council involves a complete reorganization of the finance departments; and if it succeeds I shall probably be appointed "Comptroller-General of Finance," being relieved of some of the uninteresting "audit" duties of my present appointment, and having a more clearly defined position.

You will be glad to hear that the Governor has written home requesting authority to place me in the "Executive Council" answering to the "Privy Council" at home. If

it is granted, I shall have certain accession of rank; and all Government matters will pass under my ken. To tell the truth, this was promised me when I took office, and by some oversight omitted.

I send you for your edification a revenue statement, which will perhaps astonish you. Fancy a revenue of £2,500,000 being received during the last twelve months. . . .

Emily and the children are very well. We have some new servants (which is of course a trial), but I think they are doing well. Our household consists of a man, a cook, a housemaid, a nurse, and a nursemaid, with a boy by the week in the garden just now; and we keep a horse, a cow, a poultry-yard, a good garden, a carriage, and a water-cart (you will be amused by the juxtaposition).

P.S.—*July 17.*—The new Colonial Secretary, Mr. J. F. V. Foster, has arrived by the *Argo* in sixty-seven days. Unfortunately she brought no mail.

The Governor has announced to us his approaching departure. He, it appears, asked to be relieved nine months ago. I am afraid this will turn us out of our house at the end of the year. . . .

This change of Governors entirely puts a stop to any chance of my coming home as Vice-Chancellor of the University.

From his Wife to his Mother.

NORMONT, *December 2, 1853.*

The *Great Britain* sails to-morrow, and I have just received the little *supplementary* piece of news that I expected in time to send by her. Hugh is no longer "Auditor-General," but "*the Hon. the Collector of Customs*"! It was offered to him and accepted yesterday, and in a few days' time he will take full possession. It was the only step between the Auditor-Generalship and the Colonial Secretaryship. The salary is the same as that of the Auditor-Generalship; there is a seat in the Executive Council and also in the Legislative, but not so much political work, which Hugh particularly rejoices at; in fact, it was one great inducement to him to accept it. The newspapers are excessively complimentary about it, as indeed they always are to Hugh, though so dreadfully abusive of Government officers in general. His predecessor, Mr. Cassell, was an excellent man and a great loss to the Government.

*To his Mother.*MELBOURNE, *January 20, 1854.*

. . . I will now give you as concisely as I can our news. We leave this house about a month from this time, and go to a very pretty and comfortable house,¹ nearly three miles from town, on the river. I have been so fortunate as to obtain a lease of it for two years, at £750 per annum, the proprietor, a Mr. Creswick, going home for that time to England. We have about seven acres of lawn and garden with it, the produce of which is worth about £250.

I am now pretty well settled in my new office of Collector of Customs, which at first I found rather arduous. I think I told you that the salary is £1500, and the allowances £600. I have a seat in the Executive Council; and I continue a member of the Legislative Council. My principal work in the latter was finished last night, when the new Tariff Bill was passed.

There is not much political news. The diggings are quiet, and gold is still abundant, nearly 700,000 ounces having been exported in the last quarter. The Constitution Bill is before the House, and will, I hope, pass in a few weeks. I have had a good deal to do with framing it, having been elected among the first on the select committee. If it gets over the shoals of Parliament it will give us two houses of Legislature, both elective, and what is called 'responsible' Government.

The great move at the present time, is that of many of our best friends to England. Mr. Latrobe, as you know, is going. Mr. Mitchell (the head of the police), Mrs. Were, Mr. Moore, and many others, leave within two months. I dare say you will see some of them. . . .

Many thanks to you for your trouble about my uniform and Vice-Chancellor's gown. As to the former, my letter to Mr. Wilson on my appointment to the Custom House will, I presume, have by this time resulted in the uniform being on its way. I will follow Luard's² advice as to the Vice-Chancellor's robes; and as at the next levée I shall

¹ Hawthorne House, at that time in the bush (now in the middle of a large suburb called after it), was then the only stone-built house except Government House; the furniture had been constructed out of the wreckage of a ship.

² Rev. H. R. Luard, D.D., formerly Registrar of the University of Cambridge.

have to present the Council of the University, I am glad to know what is correct. Thank you, and Uncle Childers also, about the books and other matters. Books and Parliamentary papers are greatly valued by me now, and I find those I have of the greatest use.

As to all the people of whom you ask. Mr. P. D. Grenfell¹ (who, though he has forgotten it, was at school with me) is a clerk in some house in Melbourne. . . .

To his Mother.

HAWTHORNE HOUSE, July 15, 1854.

. . . Now let me fully explain what appears to have puzzled you about my returning on leave or otherwise, pensions, new Constitution, etc.

Under the existing state of things all the principal officers of Government hold during good behaviour, *i.e.* practically for life. Under the new Constitution seven of us (and I am one) will only hold so long as our politics agree with those of the Lower House. We shall be liable to be "turned out" like an English Ministry. But it is provided that any of the seven, "on retiring or being released from office on political grounds," shall be entitled to certain pensions. If I retire before the 1st of January, 1861, I shall be entitled to £866 13s. 4d., per annum; if after that date, to £975 per annum. In the meanwhile my salary is fixed at £2000 per annum.

Now, although my individual opinions are, as you have guessed, more liberal than those of my colleagues, I cannot conceal from myself that I am, and have been, a prominent member of a very unpopular, and, in many respects, unwise Government, and I fully anticipate that within a very short time after the establishment of the new order of things we shall all be displaced.

I am now getting pretty firmly established in my office. I have had considerable difficulty in putting it in order, the more so as it had the *reputation* of being in good order when I took it. Really it was in sad arrear, and very serious confusion and scramble. But I think now that we are seeing our way far better. I will some day give you a sketch of my duties, and of the official arrangements.

Our house is now comfortable and well-ordered. It is

¹ Brother of General Sir Francis Grenfell.

a great trouble shifting quarters, and it was particularly so in our case, so soon after Emmy's illness. But when one is once settled it is delightful to be in a roomy, well-built house, out of which one is not liable to be turned in a day. We have it for certain until February, 1856, and practically so long as we wish. The rent must appear to you enormous (£750), but it is really very little. Our old house (Mr. Latrobe's) has been let for five years (with only a very small garden), at the same sum, and it has not one half the accommodation. Our house in Brunswick Street is now let for £650, and the little cottage we first occupied at St. Kilda would fetch £400 to £450.

Sir Charles Hotham arrived by the *Queen of the South*, and has now been for about a fortnight regularly settled in his Government. He is a quick, positive, and, I think, able man. Lady Hotham is a very lady-like and rather shy person. We are all greatly amused at the completely false impression which they had about people and things here, which led them at first to say and do rather odd things. I have no doubt that this will soon wear off. We have not yet seen anything of them except in public, or on public business. Government House¹ is a very nice place about four miles from town, and two from us; separated, however, from us by a cross-road of the very worst description. With the £15,000 a year received under the new Constitution, they will do very well. Already I hear that great things are being done to add to the reception-rooms, etc.

Your recent letters and papers are duly addressed to me; I mean as to *title*. All the members of the Executive Council are "Honourable," and if their appointments are confirmed by the Queen they are allowed in courtesy to retain the title for life. As you are curious in such matters, I give you the table of precedence here:—

The Governor, the Bishop, the Roman Catholic Bishop, the Chief Justice.

Executive Council.—The Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Colonial Treasurer, the Collector of Customs, the Auditor-General, the Speaker, the Puisne Judges.

Legislative Council.—The Solicitor-General, the Surveyor-General, the other members of the Legislative Council, etc. etc. etc. . . .

¹ Now Toorak House.

With the advent of Sir Charles Hotham¹ came stormy times for Mr. Haines's Cabinet, and the following letter disclosed a state of affairs which did not augur well for Mr. Childers's relations with the new Governor.

To his Mother.

MELBOURNE, September 23, 1854.

Political news is rather exciting at present. The Council met on Thursday last, and I look forward, with some anxiety, to the proceedings of the next two months. Sir Charles Hotham is a clever, quick, and energetic man; but I fear that his rashness will get him into some difficulties. He has already made about a dozen public speeches on political topics (a thing quite unprecedented).

For myself, and the other Government officials, the times are, of course, very doubtful. I have never yet been consulted by Sir Charles (although one of his Council) on any question of general policy; . . . but I have quite made up my own mind to act with every caution and discretion, never interfering or moving unless it is absolutely required for my own departmental matters, and giving, if possible, no cause of offence or difference. At the same time, Whig as I am and hope to be, I am sometimes tempted to rebel at the way in which the mob and the press are courted, and the Queen's name and authority used against her loyal subjects. . . .

From his Wife to Mrs. Eardley Childers.

HAWTHORNE HOUSE, September 26, 1854.

. . . The opening of our little exhibition was really a very pretty sight. It is a building very much in the style of the original one, and was erected to exhibit the things

¹ Sir Charles wrote to Lord Malmesbury that he went "with a sorrowful heart to Victoria." He had asked the Duke of Newcastle to let him exchange his appointment for a ship. "Nothing," writes Lord Malmesbury in his Diary, "can exceed their [the Aberdeen Ministry's] jealousy of Sir Charles Hotham's success in negotiating the treaty with South America when I sent him. They have packed him off to Australia, evidently to get him out of the way."

which are to be sent to the Paris Exhibition. All curiosities that people choose are admitted, and in this way a large building has been well filled and very prettily arranged. There are galleries all round it. At night it is lit with gas, and concerts in it twice a week. There is also a pretty little fountain, and two trees in front of it—large ferns which have been transplanted from a great distance. They look exactly like palm trees. Pictures of all kinds are hung round. . . .

To his Mother.

HAWTHORNE HOUSE, *January 8, 1855.*

. . . As to politics, I have written a long account of the state of the colony to my Uncle Childers, of which I dare say you will hear. Things cannot be more unsatisfactory than they are at present. Since my letter to my uncle, the principal rebel at Ballarat has been released by the Governor without consulting any one; and a body of the inferior Government officials have been dismissed at one day's notice. But the whole story is so sad, and so humiliating, that I do not like to write much just now.

As to myself, I hope (against hope) to be able to hold my ground until the new Constitution. It will be a most difficult task, requiring the greatest caution and tact; but I am determined to provoke no hostility if I can help it. If I fail, I hope that my having done my best during the trying times of this colony will help me to obtain employment at home. That I am accustomed to hard work may be, I think, ensured when I tell you that I have about two hundred and thirty officers and men under me employed in the collection of about £1,400,000 per annum, and the management of the fifth port in the world; and that had it not been for our present governor, I do not think I should have experienced any difficulty whatever.

We are anxiously looking for news of Sebastopol.¹ I

¹ One evening during the war with Russia the continuous firing of cannon was heard in the Bay, faintly at first, then growing louder, and many thought the city was going to be attacked. The officers (of the 40th Regiment) were at a dance given by Mrs. Childers, which broke up at the note of alarm, like the ball before Waterloo. The regiment was put under arms, and it was some time before the explanation came that the *Great Britain*, released from quarantine, steaming up the Bay, had given vent to her joy by guns and fireworks. But the men of the 48th had serious work before them. I remember

hope the overland mail may be in this week. By the time this reaches you the ice will, I suppose, have broken up in the Baltic. . . .

Our bishop goes by this ship, with the Church Bill sent home for the Queen's assent. I hope you will see him. Mrs. Perry will give you an excellent description of the colony. Several other of our friends are also in her, some going home for good. . . .

Things came to a head with the appointment by the Governor of a Commission to inquire into the working of the Customs Department.

To his Mother.

MELBOURNE, March 10, 1855.

. . . Politically things are worse and worse. I am doing my utmost to hold on; but with so bitterly hostile a governor, and the treachery which in adverse times always takes place, it will be most difficult. I have already told you about the commission upon my department which Sir Charles had appointed. Will you credit it that, for requesting in a confidential letter that the subject might be brought before the Executive Council (or Cabinet), Sir Charles has written home to request my removal from it, on the ground [that], by differing from him I have shown that I must have a "personal bias?" As I did not see this despatch in time to answer it by this mail, I have only requested the Secretary of State to do nothing before the receipt of my answer.

In the meantime the commission itself is sitting, and acting most unfairly to me. It has not called for me, or allowed me to be present; but it has been taking evidence from my subordinates, touching the conduct of their superiors, in a manner beyond precedent. I am afraid that, as one of the commission was an unsuccessful candidate for my office, and another is one of my most bitter opponents, I shall get little favour from them.

them crossing Princes Bridge on the march to Ballarat, to put down the rioting over the diggers' licenses, which was ended by the taking of the Eureka Stockade. About this time the first Volunteer force was embodied in Melbourne, under Captain Anderson. Frank Stephen and George Verdon were among the officers.—"When I was Young," by Mr. Justice A'Beckett, in the *Arena*, September 20, 1900.

I am writing by this mail to my uncle (I fear I am troubling him sadly) with a statement of what is going on. I feel sure that he will be able to see that great injustice is being done to me, but I do not know how far he could say anything to those in office. . . .

The Home Government, however, did not share Sir Charles Hotham's views, and Sir William Molesworth, the Secretary of State, administered a considerable rebuff to the Governor.

From Mr. H. Merivale to Mr. Walbanke Childers.

Sir W. Molesworth has written to Sir Charles Hotham that he cannot remove Mr. Childers from the Executive Council as asked, because the substantial offence alleged against Mr. Childers is merely his entering a certain protest on the minutes, which he is entitled to do by the Instructions.

From his Wife to Mrs. Eardley Childers.

HAWTHORNE HOUSE, June 18, 1855.

. . . I am sure you will rejoice with me when I tell you that the Council is at last prorogued. They have been sitting for *nine* months, and I do not think they would have come to an end now but for a defeat of the Government on a proposed scheme of taxation. Hugh alone of the Executive had warned the Governor against such a step, and told him the people would not submit to it. As usual, he was obstinate, and in consequence was defeated. Before the prorogation, however, Mr. O'Shanassy, the leader of the Opposition (Prime Minister, in fact, as *he* is always sent for by Sir Charles on any emergency!), gave notice of a motion for next session for introducing responsible government, without waiting for the expected powers from home. How this may affect us we can hardly tell yet; we can only hope that Lord John Russell will be amiable, and send us out our Constitution before the next session, which will open in September. Though their heads and hands are so full of this war, it seems hard that they cannot spend a few hours on the concerns of a colony like this, which is all that is wanted. Besides, if, as you say, some people believe that England is descending in the scale of nations, it would be wisdom to help a

country like this, which offers such an outlet for her people. And very little *would* drive us to rebellion, it is very certain.

The Government have been framing a law lately to prevent the immigration of Chinese. They have been arriving lately by thousands a week; and now there is a rumour that a shipload of Chinese women are coming, and as they are the lowest of the low, it must have a bad effect upon our population.

The Governor's speech was very short and very sharp indeed upon the Council. He was bitterly disappointed at the defeat of his financial scheme, and could not help showing it. . . .

Previous to 1854 the licences which miners were compelled to take out had created great disaffection at Bendigo and Ballarat; to mitigate this, a Bill imposing a duty upon the export of gold had been introduced into the Legislature by Mr. Stawell, but rejected; the principle of this Bill had been recommended to the Governor by Mr. Childers in 1852, but had not received his approval. In 1853 he, of course, supported Mr. Stawell. The rejection of this Bill led to violent meetings at Forest Creek, Bendigo, and Ballarat: a spark was only required to create an explosion. This was afforded by a disgraceful miscarriage of justice in a murder case arising on the Gold Fields. This led up to the affair of the Eureka Stockade, in which a conflict took place between the police, supported by the military, 276 in number, and a body of rioters of between 1500 and 2000: the latter tried to cut the communications between Melbourne and Geelong, and robbed and plundered in a daring manner. One soldier was killed and several wounded; thirty rebels were killed, 125 were captured, and many died of wounds; but the outbreak, which threatened to become a general rebellion, was effectively suppressed.

The effect produced on the public mind led to the enactment of the Gold Export Duty.

To his Mother.

CUSTOM HOUSE, MELBOURNE, *August 29, 1855.*

As to politics there is not much news. My gold export duty, which wiseacres at home so laughed at, has been most successful, and I am collecting it at the rate of £350,000 per annum. The yield of gold is, I think, on the increase, and affairs in the commercial world are somewhat better. The total (Customs) revenue is about £105,000 a month.

If I stay here after all I shall probably be elected for Portland, a flourishing seaport town to the west, where I am known. I could, if I wished, have a requisition from the Melbourne merchants, but, in any case, the expense of contesting the metropolis would be too great.

I hope that you have seen the Bishop. He is, in my opinion, one of the best men of the day, not to say one of the best bishops.

The draft of the measure for granting self-government to the colony of Victoria had been sketched out chiefly by Mr. Stawell, Mr. Childers, Mr. Foster, Mr. O'Shanassy, and Captain Clarke. The Bill passed the Legislature of Victoria in 1854.¹ England was at that time entering on the Crimean struggle; and by the time the Bill reached home, Lord Aberdeen's Government had fallen. The Colonial Office, separated for the first time from the War Office, was in the condition of change. During that year there were five different Secretaries of State for the Colonies,² but it fell to the lot of Lord John Russell to announce to the Governor of Victoria the grant of

¹ The Act was "reserved" by the Governor on the 25th of March, 1854. The Imperial Act, 18 & 19 Vict. c. 55, dated the 16th of July, 1855, enabled her Majesty to assent to this Act, which was done by Order in Council of the 21st of July, 1855, and the Royal Assent was proclaimed on the 23rd of November, 1855 [*vide* letter of 1876 on p. 238].

² Sir George Grey (in Lord Aberdeen's Ministry); Mr. Sidney Herbert (till the Peelites withdrew); Lord John Russell (till the failure of the Vienna Conference); Sir William Molesworth (who died in October); Mr. Labouchere.

self-government. The final sentences of this historical despatch will be read with an extraordinary interest at the present day, when the forces of Victoria have been engaged side by side with those of the mother-country.

"I will now conclude," wrote Lord John, "with the expression of my earnest hope that this grant of self-government, in more ample measure than has as yet been established in any colony of Great Britain, may fulfil in its results the anticipations of all friends of liberty and good government, both within and without the colony of Victoria. That colony has been selected by Providence to pass through the most extraordinary social and economical crisis which has occurred in the history of the dependencies of this Empire, and to exhibit, on the most gigantic scale, the power of development possessed by a new community. It has shown, at the same time, not only by ordinary manifestations of loyalty, but by the deep sympathy which it has practically evinced, in common with the other Australian colonies, with the fortunes of the mother-country in her present struggle, how strong beyond mere political union are the ties which attach the distant branches of the ancient stem of the Empire. It remains for it to prove, as under the blessings of the same Providence it will prove, that the exercise of the fullest political rights will at once contribute to promote the continuance of that extraordinary internal progress, and the maintenance of that powerful feeling of British union and British consanguinity."

The Victorian Constitution Act took effect in November, 1855; it abolished the old form of government, under which the principal members of the Executive held their offices for life, subject only to be removed by her Majesty on the advice of the Secretary of State, and substituted the system now in force—a Cabinet of seven being constituted, responsible to the Legislature.

Of the seven members of the new Cabinet, four—namely, Mr. Haines, Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Stawell, Captain (now Sir A.) Clarke, R.E., and Mr. Childers—held offices in the old Executive, and (in order to be consistent

with the language and intention of the Act) they were relieved from their old offices when responsible government commenced, in order that the Governor might at once select a Prime Minister, and that a new Cabinet might be regularly formed. Mr. Haines became Chief Secretary (Premier); Sir William Stawell, Attorney-General; Mr. Childers, Commissioner of Trades and Customs, and Captain Clarke, R.E., Commissioner of Crown Lands and Surveyor-General, with three other colleagues.

All four were Colonists, appointed to their permanent offices by the Governor, and not by the Secretary of State, who only confirmed the Governor's choice. All continued to be public servants: Mr. Haines dying in harness, Sir William Stawell being for nearly thirty years Chief Justice of the Colony, and Sir Andrew Clarke living to hold the highest offices in his profession.¹

The Act provided that those who "retired from," or ceased to hold offices for life, were entitled to certain pensions as compensation, and accordingly the four members of the old Executive Council applied for the grant of the pension to which, in the language of the Act, they were "entitled."²

This action was approved by the new and extended electorate, as, at the General Election, which took place shortly afterwards, they were all returned to the Legislative Assembly, either unopposed or by large majorities.

The effect of this change was very important from a pecuniary point of view to Mr. Childers; the next year,

¹ Governor of the Straits Settlements; Member of the Council of the Governor-General in India (for Public Works), and Inspector-General of Fortifications and Royal Engineers.

² This is strictly in accordance with the custom prevailing as to the grant of a Ministerial pension in England, which is "assigned" when the recipient is duly qualified, although it may not be drawn for perhaps years afterwards, when he leaves office.

Mr. Haines's Government were for the second time defeated, and resigned; the pension to which he was "entitled" by the terms of the Act at once became payable.

To his Mother.

ST. HELIERS, *November 24, 1855.*

. . . I write you a hurried line by the *James Baines*, which sails in a few hours, to tell you that the new Constitution was formally proclaimed yesterday, and that I am still in office. I have, therefore, got over all difficulties, and am now entitled to my pension, or continuance in office with a salary of £2000 per annum.

I fear that it must be the former. Sir Charles is making all sorts of difficulties about responsibility, and Mr. Haines, the Colonial Secretary, has told him that he cannot hold office on the terms which are proposed. If this is so we shall all go out together. You will know all by the next mail, which sails on the 10th of December.

Emily and the children are very well. She has had a good deal of exertion this week about a bazaar for our hospital, which fetched the enormous sum of £6000. This must excuse her not writing by this mail.

St. Heliers is charming, the flowers and fruit most luxuriant and delicious; and the weather pleasant, although we have had some very hot days. . . .

Mr. Childers's prediction of July last year surely enough came true, and the first result of responsible government was the defeat of Mr. Haines's ministry.

From his Wife to his Mother.

ST. HELIERS, *December 25, 1855.*

. . . I must now tell you our great news. Hugh and his colleagues are "out" of office; after three weeks' *responsibility*! They were defeated in the Council on the Ballot Question, and resigned in consequence. It is nearly a week since this happened, and their successors are not yet appointed, though Mr. Nicholson, whom the Governor sent for immediately (an Oppositionist, of course), has been working at it ever since. It would be beyond measure triumphant if they were obliged to recall the

old officials. We hear that they would be only too glad to retain Hugh in office, but he was, of course, too seriously committed on the ballot subject. All this has put a stop to his intended visit to Portland this Christmas to look after his electioneering interests there, as, if there seems no probability of his being reappointed, we shall probably return to England about March or April—I mean sailing about that time. For my part I hardly know what to think, the very thought seems to make me wild with delight. At the same time, we should not, of course, after what you have advised, too, on the subject, my dear mother, act rashly or forfeit our prospects in this country just for the pleasure of a visit to England. We will write immediately things are a little more settled, and let you know how they are likely to turn out. . . .

Mr. Nicholson failed to form a Government, and the climax to the ministerial crisis was the sudden death of Sir Charles Hotham.

To his Mother.

ST. HELIERS, MELBOURNE, *January 9, 1856.*

. . . You will have heard through the newspapers about poor Sir Charles Hotham's death. I have written by this mail to my Uncle Childers, with full particulars of the political matters and difficulties which hastened his death. He was taken ill on the Saturday week before his death with a severe cold and dysentery, which left him extremely weak and shaken. During that week the "ministerial crisis" occurred, and when the leader of the Opposition notified to him that he had failed in forming a Government, he appeared much disturbed, and in a few hours was attacked by epilepsy, ending in paralysis. I fear that he can never have been conscious after his illness became dangerous.

Lady Hotham is now, for a second time, a widow. She has borne up, I believe, wonderfully, and she will be strong enough to go home by the *Anglesey*, which sails on the 20th or 26th. It is very sad to think that she should thus be left so far from home, without either children or friends. But I know no one in the colony who does not admire and respect her, and it will be long

before her kindness (which she uniformly showed when she had an opportunity) will be forgotten.

I write, although I have dated from St. Heliers, in the middle of a debate in the Legislative Council. We are still nominally in office, but it is very difficult to say whether we are likely to be in for very long. Our opponents failed altogether to form a Government, so that there seemed no alternative but to take us again. This, I suppose, will prevent my carrying out what for the last two weeks I have been very seriously thinking about, a trip to England this year. However, by next mail you shall hear more. . . .

From his Wife to his Mother.

ST. HELIERS, January 29, 1856.

. . . I am *so* disappointed at not going home this season, but there seems no chance of another turn out yet. Hugh made a splendid speech the other night on the Export duty;¹ it is to be printed. Even his opponents, and the *Age*, his bitter enemy, are full of admiration. . . .

The *Age* was the Opposition paper, and seldom spared a political foe. At the time when Mr. Childers was Collector of Customs there was a clever caricature of him in one of the early numbers of the *Melbourne Punch*, with the Shakespearean adaptation—

*"Age cannot wither him, nor Customs stale
His infinite variety."*

On the death of Sir Charles Hotham, General McArthur assumed the governorship, pending reference home, a turn of affairs which made the greatest difference to Mr. and Mrs. Childers's position.

From his Wife to his Mother.

TOORAK, March 31.

If further proof of poor Sir Charles Hotham's death were wanted, I think my present date (Government House) would amply supply it. We left Point Henry this day

¹ *Vide* p. 62.

week, and came here on the following day to spend a week with our present Governor, General McArthur.

We are enjoying our visit here very much. The general is a most kind-hearted old man, and really seems to get on admirably as governor. This *breathing* time is quite a reprieve after the incessant storms with Sir Charles. There have been two great dinners here since we came, and last week we had to go in *state* with "His Excellency" to a ball on behalf of the Benevolent Asylum. It was strange to find myself occupying poor Lady Hotham's place!

In the afternoon the general drives me out in a certain phaeton, which he is somehow always getting into corners where it is impossible to turn, and the unhappy orderly has to force the wheels round to extricate us. Certainly driving is not his *forte*.

On Wednesday we leave, and on Friday (D.V) go down to Portland to *sound* the people there on the subject of Hugh's election. . . .

Cricket had already (in 1856) taken hold of Australia, and Mrs. Childers records—

March 26.—Went to the cricket match between Sydney and Melbourne; everybody there, a very pretty and gay scene in the Government paddock.

To his Mother.

ST. HELIERS, MELBOURNE, May 24, 1856.

. . . I am buying some property at the town which I hope to represent, Portland.

We are all very well, and, politically, busy, preparing for our first campaign under the new Constitution! One of our great opponents is to be the Irish ex-rebel, Mr. Duffy.¹

I have sent my Uncle Culling² a volume of the *Melbourne Punch* published here, which I hope you will see. There are some vulgar pieces in it, but, on the whole, it is tolerably done! Do not imagine, though, that the hideous caricatures of me are likenesses, except, perhaps,

¹ Now Sir Charles Gavan Duffy.

² Sir Culling Eardley, Bart., of Belvedere, Kent, and Bedwell Park, Herts. M.P. for Pontefract, 1830.

the one in which I am a boy looking at a see-saw. The next volume will be much more amusing.

We are becoming anxious to know who will be our next Governor. I really wish that they would either send us a good M.P., or leave our present Acting-Governor, who is a colonist. He (General McArthur) is very popular, and if not a brilliant statesman, is an industrious, kind-hearted, Christian gentleman. . . .

From his Wife to his Mother.

ST. HELIERS, August 4, 1856.

. . . The General is very popular, and they might do worse than confirm him. E. H.¹ went with me a short time ago to call on him. She was delighted with him, and thinks him quite a model old gentleman. He told us of two *offers of marriage* he had had, this being leap year; one of the ladies came to Toorak, and insisted upon seeing him. Colonel Niel was obliged to go to her and excuse the general on the score of pressing business! . . .

To his Mother.

ST. HELIERS, August 26, 1856.

. . . My election at Portland comes off on the 24th of next month. I have as yet no opponent, but I do not expect such good fortune. I am sorry to say that canvassing, even with the ballot, is a very troublesome and somewhat expensive matter. Of my six colleagues four are, I think, quite safe, and only one positively doubtful.

We have heard of Sir Henry Barkly² being appointed our new Governor. From what I can hear I imagine that he is a good man. But things are very different here from what you heard in England when the office was offered to him. In fact, so far, at least, responsible government, or rather, government by the Executive Council (for our *thorough* responsibility has not yet come), has wonderfully smoothed matters. . . .

My present *idea* is that we as a Government shall be beaten within a month after the opening of the Parliament;

¹ His cousin, wife of Henry Hammond, sub-collector of Customs.

² He had been Peelite M.P. for Leominster, and Governor successively of British Guiana and Jamaica. He died in 1898.



COLLINS STREET, MELBOURNE, IN 1853.

[To face p. 70, Vol. I.]

that we shall go out ; that *I* shall be offered a seat in the new Cabinet, which will be a coalition ; and that I shall be able to refuse. If so, I shall come home, *at least for a year*, arriving (D.V.) in England about next May. Beyond that I hardly venture to think.

Do not imagine that in prophesying all these changes I am at all wavering in my political attachments, or unduly anxious to throw off office for a time. But I know that I am better appreciated now than I was, and that several of our opponents have expressed a hope that I shall be able to act with them if they succeed. Unless, however, actually forced by duty, I will not do so.

To his Mother.

PORTLAND, VICTORIA, *September 19, 1856.*

I am here on the eve of the election. Everything at present looks well, but I think that I shall have a contest. A third candidate will be proposed on the nomination day, but against Mr. Hughes, I believe, rather than me.

We had a roughish but quick passage, and Emily and the children are all well. We are staying at Mr. Stephen Henty's.¹ He is the "oldest inhabitant" of Victoria, having settled in Portland from Swan River² in 1834, some months before the first settlers crossed to Melbourne. He is a merchant-squatter ; very well off, very kind and English, and he has a fine family, the eldest about nineteen. Mrs. Henty and Emily are great friends.

Portland is very wet and windy, but it is a delightful change from noisy, busy Melbourne. Of course, there is some excitement about the election, but the ballot prevents anything like riot or disturbance. . . .

Here it has worked well for us, Mr. S. Henty having been returned at the head of the poll for the Western district.

I am too busy and worried to write more.

From his Wife's Journal.

September 23 (1856).—The nomination day at Portland ! Hugh and the gentlemen were of course off early, and we

¹ Son of Mr. Thomas Henty, a banker in Sussex ; he and his brother were, beyond doubt, the founders of what is now the Colony of Victoria.

² The early name of Western Australia.

ladies went to the Court House at twelve to hear our *fate*. Mr. Learmonth proposed Hugh, Tommy Smith seconded him. Then somebody proposed Mr. Hughes, and a Mr. Floor seconded him, making disagreeable remarks on Hugh in answer to some rather ill-advised ones from Mr. Learmonth about the Roman Catholics. Then five minutes' great suspense—no other candidate appears, and Mr. Hunt declares these two duly elected, to our great relief and joy. Great congratulations to Hugh and myself. First, though, Hugh made a capital speech; he sprang up like a lion and confounded his adversaries.

October 10.—We had to be on the jetty at ten, where the general and all our party assembled. Then we all went in most comfortable carriages on the railway ten miles into the country, and to celebrate this opening of the line had a sort of picnic-luncheon in tents, which threatened to fly away bodily. Then returned tired, after hunting for some things I wanted. Happily, Mr. Strachan's carriage took us to the ball, which was a great failure, unhappily, for the Nightingale Fund.

October 24.—Hugh started this morning for the diggings—his first visit.

To his Mother.

MELBOURNE, *November 12, 1856.*

. . . My last was a short note from Portland. I was returned without opposition on the 23rd September, my colleague, however, being one of our opponents. Up to the very last moment another candidate was talked of; but both sides were afraid of a contest, so that I have been spared a good deal of trouble and perhaps vexation.

You will be anxious to know the result of the election generally. All my colleagues have been returned, and all in good places on the poll. Mr. Haines, the Chief Secretary, was at the head of the poll for the county of Grant; Mr. Stawell, the Attorney-General, was third among five members and ten candidates for the City; Mr. Clarke,¹ the Surveyor-General, headed the poll at South

¹ General Sir Andrew (then Lieutenant) Clarke, R.E., now Agent-General for Victoria.

Melbourne; Mr. Pasley,¹ the Commissioner of Public Works, was in the same position at South Bourke. Mr. Sladen, the Treasurer, was second of nine candidates at Geelong, and Mr. Fellows,² the Solicitor-General, second of three at St. Kilda.

As to the state of parties in the whole Legislature, it is very difficult to speak. In the Upper House we have no official member, but we shall be represented by two gentlemen who will be members of the Executive Council without office. All the members of this House are old colonists of good property, and we are not likely to receive any inordinate opposition; although, like other Upper Houses, they will have a will of their own.

In the Lower House, so far as we can learn, we count with our supporters *quand même* about twenty; the extreme Opposition is about twenty, the moderate Opposition is about five, and the waverers about fifteen. If our programme "takes" out of doors I think we shall have a majority; but if not, I fear that the waverers will be against us. We are keeping things quiet, intending to develop our policy on the Address.

The Houses meet on Friday week, the 21st. You would be astonished at the size and beauty of the new building in which we shall assemble. When finished it will cost above £300,000 (about £150,000 in England), and will be the largest pile of buildings in Australia.³

We have no further tidings of our new Governor, except that he is expected by the October steamer, due here about the 20th of December. From all I hear he will suit us very well. . . .

¹ Colonel (then Lieutenant) Pasley, R.E.

² Afterwards Mr. Justice Fellows.

³ Thirty years later Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Loch, then Governor of Victoria, thus wrote to him :—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MELBOURNE, *October 1, 1886.*

To-day we are about to perform a function in commemoration of what was, I believe, commenced by you and the other able and distinguished men who some thirty years ago, fortunately for the colony, had the guidance of its affairs, by laying a memorial stone in connection with the final stage for the completion of Parliament Buildings—the chambers have been occupied for many years. They will, when completed, be very fine buildings, standing upon a commanding site, and built of very beautiful stone from Stawell, which is, as you are aware, a district beyond Ballarat.

From his Wife to his Mother.

ST. HELIERS, November 29.

. . . We had a *grand* day on Tuesday last, the opening of our new Houses (Parliament). The Upper is called the Legislative Council, the Lower (in which Hugh and all his colleagues are) the Legislative Assembly. It was really a very pretty sight; the buildings are very beautiful, and would do honour to any city in the world. The speech was greatly admired, and as it was Hugh's writing, of course we felt a double interest in it. Altogether, the Oppositionists seem perfectly subdued. The effect of the *building* itself upon the *baser* ones is amusing. They seem quite *awed*. In the evening we dined at Toorak. I suppose its new master will soon arrive; may he never do worse than the present one. This is rather an *equivocal aspiration*, though certainly unintentionally so. . . .

November 25 (opening of Parliament).—We got to the Houses at a quarter-past one. Mr. Palmer came out and Colonel Farquharson (Black Rod), and took us to our seats in the body of the House. Very good seats; such a crowd outside the building; an avenue of soldiers, and inside crowded of course, the galleries particularly. Almost every one we know there. Great cheering for the general; speech most excellent (of course). The Houses are most beautiful so far. After, we went to luncheon at Mrs. Barker's, where there were a great many of our acquaintances. Took up Hugh at the club¹ and drove to Toorak to dinner. Sat by the general; complimented him on his speech, etc.

December 17.—We had heard it was to be an interesting debate to-night, so went into town and to the Council. The squatting question. We heard a long speech from Mr. Goodman, a clever one from Mr. Michie, a short one from Mr. Stanch, and last, to our great joy, a *making-up* one from Dr. Evans. Disappointed at not hearing Hugh. A great many people there. The electoral debate, which we wished to hear, is to-morrow.

December 18.—Hugh came in, about twelve with his colleagues, flushed with *victory*. A great debate on the

¹ He continued till his death a member of the Melbourne Club.

electoral question ; Government successful. Hugh spoke. How I wish I had been there !

December 23.—John came in the evening with the news of the new Governor's (Sir H. Barkly) arrival. Hugh went on board to see him, and did not come home till late.

December 24.—Dressed to go to dinner at Toorak to meet Sir H. and Lady Barkly. Called for Hugh at the club. We were late in going, but passed the other Executives and the Neils on the road. Very formal. Sir H. took me in, a very agreeable man. I could not judge much of Lady Barkly.

From his Wife to his Mother.

February 15, 1857.

Since I last wrote I have had some wonderful adventures. We had been invited to a large picnic, given by Mr.¹ and Mrs. Selwyn at Western Port, about sixty miles from Melbourne. The picnic lasted a fortnight. Eight large tents, a piano, provisions of all kinds (including an immense quantity of champagne), and the necessary furniture were sent down beforehand. Hugh could not go, so Mrs. Were drove me down for a few days. Several other gentlemen were with us, but somehow we missed both them and the track, and were fairly *lost in the bush* ! No one but an Australian can understand the full danger of such a situation. Mr. Were told me *afterwards* that at one time he was convinced we should never be found alive again ! It was thundering and hailing violently, and we were in the middle of a dense forest. For six hours we never saw a trace of a human being, and at last, at five o'clock, we were on the point of resigning ourselves to "bush it," lighting a fire and camping out, when we caught a sight of the sea, miles away. However, this encouraged us to go on, and in another hour's time we found our road, to our great joy. A basket of apricots and a case of champagne were our provisions. The latter we made the horse share with ourselves, to keep him up. The picnic went off very pleasantly—there was plenty of shooting,

¹ Alfred R. C. Selwyn, Government Geologist of Victoria, afterwards Director of the Geological Survey of Canada.

Among the guests was Mr. Candler, now the well-known coroner of Melbourne.

hunting, fishing, boating, and riding, and my end of it consisted in being driven back to St. Heliers in one day, and going the same evening with Hugh to dine at Toorak.

The introduction of Responsible Government in Victoria was quickly followed by a similar measure in New South Wales ; and, as soon as the elections in the latter colony had taken place, the Governor, Sir William Denison, proceeded to select a responsible Ministry.

Before the formation of the new administration, Mr. Deas Thomson¹ wrote from Sydney to Mr. Childers, asking many questions as to the best organization for the departments, in the manner suited to the change in the Constitution ; one of the most difficult and delicate points being the position in reference to the transaction of public business which the Governor would in future occupy, and his control over the finances.

Unfortunately no copy can be found of Mr. Childers's reply, but Mr. Deas Thomson's acknowledgment of the information sent him is of interest.

From Mr. Deas Thomson.

SYDNEY, March 14, 1856.

I yesterday had the pleasure to receive your note of the 6th instant, and I lose no time in thanking you for the interesting details which it contains on the subject of Responsible Government. They cannot fail to be of great service to me, if the task should devolve on me of aiding in its introduction into this colony. You may rely on my using with discretion the information which you have given me respecting your Cabinet and Executive arrangements. I have been much surprised to find that you have thought it necessary to continue under the new

¹ Mr. Edward Deas Thomson went out to New South Wales as Clerk of the Council. He died in 1879, full of years and honour, having filled the offices of Colonial Secretary, President of the Legislative Council, and Vice-Chancellor of the University.

system those constant references to the Governor which have hitherto rendered the system of business so cumbrous, and been the cause of so much delay in its transaction. It appears to me that such a course is inconsistent with the new order of things, which, according to English precedent, should throw the responsibility on the Minister and not on the head of the Government. There are, no doubt, as you observe, a great many matters which by law or custom require his sanction or signature. With respect to these there is, of course, no alternative ; but it appears to me there can be no advantage whatever, whilst there must be much delay, in the several ministers submitting for his authority matters of mere detail. For instance, you state that no approval to any expenditure is conveyed by a responsible Minister, unless he has obtained the Governor's initials or signature to the order. No doubt, by law no money vote can be proposed to the Legislature, or sum issued from the Treasury, except on the recommendation or warrant of the Governor ; but it appears to me that his recommendation in the one case, and his signature to the warrant in the other, ought to be sufficient, without entailing upon him the necessity of granting special authority in every individual case. It may happen, no doubt, from the state of the revenue, or the labour market, or other adequate cause, that it may not be expedient to incur an expenditure which may have been recommended by the Governor, and authorized by the Legislature ; but the decision on such a case would, as involving principles of general policy, be first discussed in the Cabinet, and then finally determined in the Executive Council, where the Governor would have an opportunity of delivering, and, if necessary, of recording his opinion. By-the-by, there is one regulation to which you allude, and which appears to me to be, if not contrary to law, at least at variance with the Queen's instructions to the Governor. It is this, that no papers are laid before the Executive Council by the Governor, except on the advice of a responsible Minister. Practically, no doubt, this rule must generally be observed—but still I think there are cases in which the Governor has a right to seek the advice of the Executive Council, even although not requested to do so by one of the responsible ministers. Nay, there are cases in which, under the Royal instructions, he has no power to act until he shall first have consulted his Executive Council—such, for instance, as the reports of capital cases tried before the

judges, the suspension and dismissal of public officers, the granting of land, etc., etc., etc.

What surprises me most is that the Governor should submit to any control as regards his correspondence with the Secretary of State. As an Imperial officer, this is a matter which I thought it was his peculiar province to regulate, irrespective of the opinions of his responsible minister. I can quite conceive that it would be his wish to consult with the proper minister with respect to any matter of merely Colonial interest; but that no despatch should be sent without being first approved by him, does seem to me to be somewhat inconsistent with their relative positions.

You will perceive that our elections have commenced. Mr. D. Cooper¹ and Mr. Donaldson² have been returned for the Hamlets; Messrs. Cowper, Parkes,³ Campbell, and Wiltshire for the City. So far, the ultra-Radical party has triumphed—but these are their strongholds. I am sorry to say that my friend the Attorney-General has been rejected by the latter constituency. Mr. Donaldson, although a Liberal, is much more moderate in his political opinions than the other five that have been returned. The elections for the other districts will not take place until after Passion week.

¹ Afterwards Sir Daniel Cooper.

² Afterwards Sir Stuart Donaldson.

³ Afterwards Sir Henry Parkes.

CHAPTER IV.

MEMBER FOR PONTEFRACT.

1857-1863.

Returns from Australia as Agent for Victoria—Mission to Melbourne for Baring Brothers—Stands for Pontefract and is defeated—Petitions against the Election—Returned for Pontefract—Private Member—Transportation Question—City Work.

EARLY in 1857 the Government of Victoria determined to send home a responsible official to look after their various interests in London, thus inaugurating what has since become the office of Agent-General for the Colony.

To his Mother.

MELBOURNE, February 14, 1857.

I have accepted the appointment of "Agent for Victoria" (retaining my seat in the Executive Council), at a salary of £1200 a year. As such I shall be a sort of *chargé d'affaires* for this colony, my special duties being in connection with emigration. I have a good staff voted—a secretary at £500 a year, and proper officers for my office and the country sub-agencies.

In accepting this I have stated my *present* intention not to hold it for more than one year, so as to be again here in July, 1858. This, however, must entirely depend on divers circumstances.

I have not *actually* taken my passage, but I intend to do so by the *European* overland. If I do this I shall be in England on the 6th of May.

On the 14th of March, after a residence of six years and five months in the colony, Mr. and Mrs. Childers, with their four little boys, embarked in the steamship

European and sailed the next morning ; they reached Suez on the 19th of April, and on the 21st made the journey by the desert road from Suez to Cairo.

Forty years ago the journey across Egypt was not the easy trip it has since become. It is true that the railway had been opened from Cairo to Alexandria in 1857—but travelling between Suez and Cairo was at that time effected by means of lumbering, closed vehicles, not unlike Brighton bathing-machines.

April 21.—At 4 p.m. started in the third out of five parties : it had been raining heavily for the first time in five years, and the desert was very heavy for twenty or thirty miles. There were five carriages, each containing six adults. We breakfasted about 10, lunched about 2, and dined about 5. Reached Cairo about 9. Put up at Sheppard's.

April 23.—Started by the railway at 9 and arrived at Alexandria about 4.30. The Nile is crossed by a pontoon bridge at a great height. The passage of the train took two hours.

The next day the party sailed, and, after touching at Malta, reached the Needles on the 8th of May, and the next day landed in Southampton.

Mr. Childers's mother at that time resided at Little Bounds, the dower house of Bounds Park, Sir Charles Hardinge's seat near Southborough, between Tonbridge and Tunbridge Wells.

May 9.—We came across the country and not through London. At Little Bounds what a joyful meeting and welcome after seven years' absence, our dear mother standing at the door with outstretched arms !

Mr. Childers arrived in England after an absence of just seven years, in the course of which he had gained an experience in public affairs such as rarely falls to the lot of a young man of twenty-nine. He had taken a leading

part in the inauguration of a system of self-government based on the model of the Home Constitution, and had been especially concerned in the arrangements for raising the Gold Revenue,¹ the establishment of the University, the Public Library and the Normal Schools,² the introduction and systematic extension of the electric telegraph, and the amendment and consolidation of the laws relating to Trade, Customs, and Immigration.

On his first arrival at home, however, he was confronted by a disappointment. A change of policy had taken place on the part of the Colonial Government with regard to the office which he had been sent home to fill, and one of the first letters which he received informed him that the establishment of the Agency for the Colony was not confirmed, and that at the end of the year his appointment would cease. Although he had accepted it with no expectation, or, indeed, intention, of holding it for more than one year, still he had not contemplated that it would come to so sudden a termination, and it was therefore necessary for him to seek fresh occupation. It so happened that among the friends of his wife's family was Mr. James Capel—well-known to all City men—and to him he wrote that he was anxious for employment as agent for some house of business, and he mentioned that the Government of Victoria were about to raise £8,000,000 towards the construction of two hundred miles of railway in the colony.

¹ These arrangements were submitted by Mr. Childers himself to the Governor in the early part of 1852; and although rejected by the Executive Council at the time, and subsequently by the Legislature, were adopted in 1855, and were carried out in accordance with his original plan. The regulations drawn up by himself came into operation in May, 1855, and their working was placed under his superintendence.

² The establishment of these Mr. Childers had the honour of first proposing to the Government and the Legislature, and in the administration of each he was concerned.

To this Mr. Capel replied :—

From Mr. James Capel.

5, THROGMORTON STREET, December 11, 1857.

I have seen Mr. Baring, who would like to see you upon the subject, but I have not the least idea whether there is any prospect of its leading to anything; still, it can do no harm to be known to such people as the Barings. I shall be most happy to forward your interest in any way in my power, and I believe there are but few commercial parties in London to whom I could not obtain an introduction for you.

Mr. Capel again wrote, February 15, 1858 :—

Barings want to know if you would go on a mission to Melbourne, and what terms you would require. Think this over, and let me see you in the City in the morning.

What had happened was that, on the 24th of November, "An Act to authorize the raising of money for the construction of railways" was passed by the Legislature of Victoria, and on the 15th of December the Colonial Treasurer (Mr. Ebdon) wrote to Messrs. Baring Brothers, inviting their firm to take up the loan (£7,000,000 in debentures at six per cent.), either on their own account, or to negotiate it on behalf of the Government of Victoria.

To this Messrs. Barings replied that they proposed to send Mr. Childers out as their confidential representative, with full powers to act for them.

From Mrs. Childers's Journal.

February 16.—All is settled with the Barings. They offer very liberally. The children all to be left behind; I to go with him. Hugh elected a member of Brooks's Club; not one black ball.

From his Journal.

February 20.—Went to the Barings. Read my minutes and discussed loan and agency business at some length.

Then to the steam office. Took our berths (return tickets), and had some interesting conversation with Mr. Grenfell, one of the directors. I urged upon him the idea of taking *all* the mails across France, under which arrangement there would be no fear of the Sydney letters not being answered. Dined with Foster at the Reform Club; every one much excited with the Ministerial crisis, although not much was actually known. Met and had some interesting conversation with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and others. My interview with the Barings I thought satisfactory. I made many suggestions, and broached the agency for the Geelong shareholders.

February 26.—The present Ministry¹ is "Eleven Gentlemen against All England," somebody's reply to somebody who called politics a game of cricket, where each side must have an innings.

Before leaving home for the second time he records in his journal the occasion of his making the acquaintance of his future political chief.

From his Journal.

January 26.—Met Waldegrave² at my lodgings, and took him with me to the Australian dinner at the Albion—about a hundred and fifty; Sir Charles Nicholson in the chair; introduced to the Speaker,³ Gladstone, and Pakington.⁴ They and Labouchere⁵ spoke; Gladstone far the best. Was one of the Vice-presidents, supported by Mr. Latrobe and Captain Sturt.⁶

On the 12th of March, 1858, accompanied by his wife, he started once more for Melbourne.

¹ Lord Palmerston's Ministry, defeated on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, had resigned on the 20th of February, and Lord Derby had formed a Government, though in a minority.

² Hon. G. Waldegrave Leslie, an old Cheam boy.

³ Mr. Denison, afterwards Lord Ossington.

⁴ Sir John Somerset Pakington, became First Lord of the Admiralty in March, 1858, afterwards Lord Hampton.

⁵ Colonial Secretary, afterwards Lord Taunton.

⁶ Charles Sturt, the Australian explorer, the first, and for a long time the only, traveller to approach the centre of Australia.

*To his Mother.**March 22, 1858 (At sea).*

We expect to be at Alexandria on the 24th. We have pleasant fellow-passengers—Sir C. and Lady Cooper, the Hammiks, our old friends the Broadhursts, Glennies, Bartleys, etc. We have a very merry Captain Webber, R.N., just appointed Admiralty agent on board some ship the other side of the Isthmus. This is to be our *omnibus party* across the desert. . . . The Cranborne party left us at Malta. We saw a great deal of them on board the *Wye*. Lord Cranborne, who is quite blind and rather deaf, explained to us all about his books and apparatus, and his school and asylum schemes, his travels and Australia. His companion, Dr. Johnson, is an intelligent, well-informed man. I never saw any one with such a memory as poor Lord Cranborne. He sees, I should say, twice as much as most far-seeing Englishmen, but he appears to feel his deafness most. He is very full of politics, and I heard all the last news of the Faithfulls, Frankses, and other Hertfordshire people. He asked a good deal after you all, and had a pleasant recollection of my aunt in (I think) 1842.¹

March 25.—Started for the Pyramids, a party of seventeen; twelve went up, including Emily. Afterwards lunched and went into the inner chambers.

Mrs. Childers wrote from near Galle (where they changed ships):—

I hope we shall find the *Australasian* as clean and comfortable (as the *Candia*). She is to be ready for us at Galle. How glad you will be to hear of the Lucknow news.² This ship brought to Suez a hundred and seventy passengers, and a good many of them were women and children from Lucknow. They looked in good spirits, Hugh said (he went on board before they left); *very peculiarly* dressed some were. Poor things; perhaps they had

¹ Lord Cranborne, the elder brother of the present Marquis of Salisbury, died in 1865.

² The besieged in the Residency of Lucknow had been rescued by Sir Colin Campbell (who had been joined by Havelock) in November, 1857.

lost all their things. Mrs. Ommamey was among them, with her two daughters, both of whom had lost their lovers in the Indian Mutiny, so in fact they were three widows together—Naomi and her daughters. We have a good many young naval men on board going to China, and among others a Mrs. Sneyd, who escaped from Futtehpoore (near Cawnpore) with her married daughter. Mrs. Sneyd lost *several* children, and herself had several narrow escapes. . . . I am so constantly reminded of the dear children at our different halting places, and sometimes—often—I feel as though I had nothing to do. I get tired of work and reading.

On the 13th of May the *Australasian* reached Melbourne.

Reached Hobson's Bay at eleven. Captain Clarke,¹ Tyler,² and a great many old friends came on board.

A change of Government had taken place, and Mr. O'Shanassy was in power.

To Mr. T. Baring, M.P.

The late Government (in which Mr. Ebdon was Treasurer) fell partly from internal dissension, and partly from the anxiety of several of its members to abandon official life. The present Government consists of persons possessing somewhat extreme political opinions. . . . Their policy may be considered conservative, and they are by far the strongest administration which could have been formed after the resignation of their predecessors. They have directed their earliest attention to the subject of railway contract; they have accepted a tender from Messrs. Cornish & Bruce for the line from Melbourne to Sandhurst.

Mr. Childers submitted his proposals, which were briefly that Messrs. Baring Brothers would undertake the agency for the sale of the £7,000,000 at a commission of one per cent., and a quarter per cent. for brokerage, and repayment of incidental expenses. They would not tender for the

¹ Now Sir Andrew Clarke.

² Mr. John Chatfield Tyler, one of his intimate Melbourne friends.

purchase of the whole £7,000,000, but would for £1,500,000 at 103½, or for the same amount at 104, with the option of taking another £1,500,000 twelve months after.

After a month of negotiation it became clear that the new Government, unlike their predecessors, were not favourably disposed towards the Barings; the explanation is given in the following, written when the offer was declined:—

To Messrs. Baring & Co.

MELBOURNE, June 15.

The offers which I made on your behalf, both for a purchase of a portion of the Victorian debentures, and for the agency for their sale, have been declined, and a contract for the latter purpose has been concluded by the Government with six of the banks doing business in Melbourne. The avowed reason for this decision is that the terms proposed by the banks were more favourable to the colony than those which I was enabled to offer. . . . But I have good grounds for believing that before my proposals were delivered they had decided on not making any arrangements with your house, and I was asked to submit them only in order to give certain of their banks an opportunity of proposing others apparently more favourable to the colony. . . . The proceedings of the Government are almost universally condemned by the press and the public. Had not the Legislature been prorogued so hastily, I do not question that a distinct vote of censure would have been carried in one if not both Houses. I have, however, carefully followed your instructions, and abstained from any action calculated to produce antagonism between the Government and myself. My personal relations with them are friendly, and have been so throughout the negotiation.

Mr. and Mrs. Childers stayed in Melbourne for two months, during which time he was pressed to remain out in Victoria and help with Mr. Ebdon in the re-formation of the old Haines party; but he saw no prospect of success, and declined the proposal, as well as another offer with much more tangible advantages.

From his Journal.

July 6.—Dalgety¹ made me an offer of partnership in his four houses. I am to consider it.

July 10.—Had a long interview with Dalgety about the partnership. Their capital is £300,000, besides *del credere* and building funds. They have been making above £60,000 a year. He offers me one-tenth of the average profits, managing the Melbourne house.

The offer entailed residence in Victoria, and probably this condition decided Mr. Childers, on his arrival home, to decline it. They sailed on the 16th July in the *Emu*.

July 25.—Discussed with Beyfus a project of steam communication between Marseilles and Melbourne, *via* Mauritius, under French auspices.

August 24.—Arrived at Suez. Found there the *Cyclops*, whose first lieutenant came off and gave us the news of Jeddah, Cherbourg, telegraph to America, etc.

August 25.—Reached Cairo at 6; train off at 11; got to the Nile Station at 2. Were kept a long time for two trains from Alexandria with artillery for India. Reached Alexandria between 7 and 8.

At Alexandria he found the following message awaiting him:—

From Baring Brothers.

LONDON, August 14, 1858.

We consider your proposals to the Government have been very liberal, and though we have not been successful our defeat has been discreditable neither to you nor to us. We hope to have the pleasure of welcoming you back in good health.

They arrived home on the 8th of September, where, notwithstanding the failure of the mission, he met with a most cordial reception from Mr. Baring.

¹ Mr. F. G. Dalgety, founder of the wool-broking and commercial house now known as Dalgety & Co., Ltd.

From his Journal.

September 10.—To the S.W.R. station. Met there Mr. Baring and his cousin Mr. Edward Baring. Norman Court a fine place. Full of curiosities. Edward Baring a capital fellow; belongs to Brooks's; talked about Grenfell.

September 11.—Shooting after breakfast with the two Mr. Barings: seven brace of birds, six hares. There came to dinner a Mr. Blackwell, manager of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, just arrived from America. A great deal of talk about Canada, etc.

Mr. Childers was now free to turn his attention to politics at home. The Victorian agency had brought him into touch with the Colonial Office at home, and led to an acquaintance with Lord Carnarvon,¹ at that time the Under-Secretary of State; while the mission on behalf of the Barings had been the means of making him known in the City, a fact which proved shortly afterwards of no little advantage to him.

He had not long to wait for the wished-for opportunity for entering political life at home. Parliament was dissolved in the April (1859) following his second return from Australia. The same morning which brought the news of the Dissolution brought him a message from his uncle at Cantley, advising him to stand for the borough of Pontefract, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Pontefract was not the constituency Mr. Childers had first thought of. His inquiries had led him to direct his

¹ *From the Earl of Carnarvon.*

COLONIAL OFFICE, *November 10, 1858.*

I hope to spend next Sunday in the country, and have asked the Nova Scotian and New Brunswick Ministers, who have come to England to discuss North American policy, to come to me. Can I persuade you to come to me on Saturday afternoon to meet them, and to allow me the opportunity of showing you as much of our part of Hampshire as a single Sunday will admit of?

attention to Wolverhampton, and on the day of the dissolution he was actually on his way there, when a telegram from his uncle was put into his hand at the railway station, advising him to come to Pontefract at once. He therefore altered his destination, and by so doing, as the event proved, gained the suffrages of a constituency which returned him to Parliament for twenty-five years without a break.

Pontefract at this time, and up to the Redistribution of 1885, returned two members. Mr. Monckton Milnes,¹ the senior sitting member, was sure to be returned, but the contest for the second seat was certain to be a close one, the Conservative candidate being Mr. Overend, Q.C. The election was conducted on the old-fashioned lines, common enough in the pre-Bribery Act days. Mr. Childers used to relate how at a critical hour (three p.m., the poll closing at four) some sixty voters presented themselves, offering him the first refusal of their votes, adding that if he would not "plank down the ready" they would turn the scale the other way. And turn it they did.

Mrs. Childers, who was anxiously waiting news in London, records—

April 29.—Show of hands in Hugh's favour greatly. Telegram of defeat by ten votes.

The scandalous way in which the election had been conducted, and the open bribery which had been carried on, justified Mr. Childers in petitioning on the ground of corrupt practices. An effort was unsuccessfully made to obtain the friendly arbitration of a member of the late Government; but it was agreed eventually by Mr. Childers and his opponent, Mr. Overend, to abide by the award of a referee to be nominated by Sir George Grey² and Sir

¹ Afterwards the first Lord Houghton.

² Sir George Grey, M.P., at that time Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, afterwards Home Secretary—grandfather of the present Sir Edward Grey, M.P.

John Pakington. The substance of the award of Sir John Coleridge,¹ the referee selected, was to the effect that Mr. Overend, as a man of honour, ought, and the referee directs that he shall, forthwith make vacant the seat, and that he do not become a candidate, or in any way interfere in, oppose, or attempt to prevent the election of Mr. Childers on the vacancy to be occasioned.

The new writ was at once issued, and on the 30th of January, 1860, the election took place. At four o'clock, when the poll closed, he had obtained 320 to his opponent's (Waterhouse) 257 votes.

The result was a cause of great gratification, as he had all along received but little encouragement to proceed with his petition.

In the winter of 1859 he, at great personal trouble (in the midst of his election petition), went over to America to settle, if possible, a troublesome family matter. He records the fact of his being the first passenger by the newly-opened mail service to America *via* Kingstown and Cork.

To his Wife.

CORK, December 1, 1859.

All well so far. I am in the little steamer on the way to the *Nova Scotian*, which arrived at noon. Weather very fine.

I came down most comfortably, a good part of the way on the engine. I am the first passenger for America who has come through from London this way! I strongly recommend it.

It is quite possible that at Queenstown I may see Captain Small, who is in charge of the Cunard Company's establishment here.

Two excellent fellows, connected with the railway company, Mr. Miller and Captain Fishbourne, came with me, and were, as every one else, most attentive. As the first and only passenger, I am rather a lion!

¹ Sir John Taylor Coleridge, father of the late Lord Coleridge (Lord Chief Justice).

He remained in America a very few weeks, and returned to England in time for the new election.

On October 21 this year (1859) Mrs. Childers makes the following entry in her Journal :—

Hugh took Lennie to the Army and Navy Club. L. asked : "If you were a very old man, papa, would you like to see my name there?" (pointing to a memorial window.)¹

The House of Commons at the time of Lord Palmerston's supremacy differed in many ways from what it is now. Obstruction, all night sittings, and the closure had not yet come in. During the last years of the veteran's life many subjects which were ripe for discussion and solution were, by the tacit consent of both parties, allowed to stand over. As soon, however, as he had departed, a torrent of questions of the first importance forced itself to the front, and much of the charm and ease of Parliamentary life disappeared with that illustrious figure. Mr. Childers was thirty-two when he entered the House, full of energy, and keen to acquit himself well. His uncle, a Parliamentarian of the old school, experienced in the ways of the House since the time of the Reform Bill, and aware of the dangers of *trop de zèle*, sends him a note of warning and advice :—

From his Uncle, Mr. Walbanke Childers.

UNITED UNIVERSITY CLUB, Monday, 1860.

I have had much talk with very many persons about you, and all agree, be most careful not to speak too much, especially do not start a crotchet, and, *above all*, do not suggest any plan either for Church Rates or Income Tax.

Recollect, 5000 thinkers now in England and 500 in the House are trying to suggest one. By and bye you may

¹ Eleven years later his name, amongst others, was included in the memorial in St. Paul's Cathedral to those who perished in the *Captain*.

say anything ; but at present only try to obtain a character for general ability, and habits of business, and knowledge of legislative matters, and the *less* you speak the better. Ask Lushington¹ or some older man if you have any doubt as to my opinion.

On the 2nd of February he took his seat, and seven days afterwards made his maiden speech.

February 2.—To the House at half-past three. Emily and many friends came to see me sworn in. Took the oaths before four. Divided with Government on Wise's motion for Standing Committee on the Estimates. Took my seat on the third bench behind Government's.

February 4.—My Uncle Culling² left a card, suggesting my first speech on the Ballot, as the society adopts T. Duncombe's motion.

February 6.—The Budget was to have come on, but Gladstone's illness postponed it.

February 7.—Went with Lord Alfred Churchill to the Treasury to protest against the increase of the Australian newspaper postage. Succeeded, after a long fight with Mr. Hill³ at the post-office, the colonies to be called upon to bear their share of the transit expenses. Divided in the House against Lord John Manners's⁴ motion to close the doors of the Divorce Court if necessary.

February 8.—Voted in the House in the majority against Church rates. Poor debate. My old schoolfellow, Richard Long, seconded the amendment in a tolerable first speech.

February 9.—Came away from the House to dine at Lady Cranworth's. All the Lushingtons there. Had heard that I was to be petitioned against, and spoken to Hutton and others in the lobby. Returned to the House at ten, and found the debate on the proposal to have the

¹ Dr. Lushington, Judge of the Admiralty Court, Lord Cranworth, and Sir Culling Eardley had married three sisters (Misses Carr).

² Sir Culling Eardley.

³ Afterwards Sir Rowland Hill.

⁴ Now Duke of Rutland.

ballot at Gloucester and Wakefield. So pointedly alluded to by Crossley¹ and Bonham-Carter² that I was obliged to speak.

He spoke for about half an hour, describing the working of the Ballot in Melbourne, and in conclusion said :—

I admit, sir, that the Ballot has its weak points. I have no wish to conceal from the House what I have myself observed to its disadvantage, and I will state them to you candidly. It is unfavourable to candidates against whom local or private prejudices exist, prejudices which, with open voting, would be often concealed; and it unquestionably works better in a constituency represented by one than by more members. In the latter case, as the state of the poll is not known through the day, decided partisans of individual candidates are induced to plump rather than to vote for the whole list of their own party, when it is expected that the contest will be close; although with open voting they might have no reason, and indeed would be ashamed, to do so. I remember that at the first election for the city of Melbourne under the Ballot, although there were ten candidates and five members to be returned, the average number of votes given by each elector was barely over two. By this defect less prominent men are frequently placed at a disadvantage when standing with leaders, although their party may have a small majority on the roll; an inconvenience easily cured by subdividing the electoral districts and giving to none more than one or at most two members.³ But, on the other hand, and for precisely the same reason, the Ballot altogether puts a stop to what I will call afternoon bribery. I allude to what many borough members, who have had the misfortune of being engaged in a close contest, must know well; the temptation to bribe arising from organisations of corrupt electors, who, at two, three, or half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, offer themselves to the best bidder at prices which rise as the poll approaches its close. This the Ballot manifestly tends to stop; for as the state of the

¹ Frank Crossley, M.P. for the West Riding.

² John Bonham-Carter, M.P. for Winchester, at one time Chairman of Committees.

³ Which was done in 1885.

poll cannot be known through the day, a vote is as valuable at half-past eight in the morning as at half-past three in the afternoon; and in practice it has been found, that, by thus removing all the food for excitement, and by reducing the value of unpolled votes, bribery, on the day of polling at least, becomes useless and obsolete. In this respect the success of the Ballot in Australia is unquestioned by its most determined opponents.

I trust, sir, that I have now shown you that the ballot is not so impracticable as the honourable member opposite¹ confidently informed us; but I would, in conclusion, venture to allude to the special case under discussion. I take it that the constituencies of Gloucester and Wakefield have, in fact, committed political suicide. Like many instances, which will at once occur to you, of men highly distinguished in politics or science, whose better principles have been momentarily overthrown by some morbid over-excitement, these two boroughs have been brought down, by a small and corrupt minority in their bodies corporate, to the disgrace and the political death which has now justly overtaken them. They lie, as it were, on our dissecting table; and it is for us to deal with them as we think fit. Whether or not the Ballot be un-English and degrading, so far at any rate as their interests are concerned, we need not determine. But if, as I have endeavoured to show, the Ballot may be and has been carried out in a British community, and by the side of British institutions, not only without mischief, but with the most perfect success; if the evils which were predicted of it have been unknown, and the good which it was designed to bring about has been accomplished; then I say it becomes our duty, in the interest of society and of our constitution, to test by experiment, under our own eyes, this problem in political science, which cannot in any other way be satisfactorily solved. When the advocates of the Ballot, instead of demanding it for universal adoption, generously offer to abide by the result of its trial on such constituencies as Gloucester and Wakefield, it is, I will not say unjust, but impolitic in its opponents to decline the experiment. For my part I hope the House will agree to give practical application to a principle which is dear, not only to the greater part of those who sit on this side, but to the majority of the people; and I shall therefore give the

¹ Mr. Bentinck.

motion of the honourable member for Finsbury¹ my most cordial support.²

February 10.—Gladstone's wonderful Budget speech for just four hours. Sat close behind him.

February 11.—Went to Lady Palmerston's. Received a great many congratulations.

February 13.—Navy Estimates till late. Meeting of West Riding Liberals at Fendall's. Agreed that the riding ought not to be divided under a Reform Bill.

Many friends wrote to congratulate him on what was admitted to be a most successful maiden speech. His two uncles were naturally delighted, and his "old governor," Mr. Latrobe, wrote as follows :—

From Mr. Latrobe.

WHITBOURNE COURT, *February 14, 1860.*

I have been reading, with interest, what I suppose to be your maiden speech—that on the Ballot question ; and am reminded that I did not intend to be the last to congratulate you on the attainment of your wishes, and to assure you of the interest I shall take in your "Parliamentary career."

I have always heard and believed that it was one thing to get up and deliver a speech, good or bad, at a Debating Society, a Town Council meeting, an evening lecture—a Legislative Council debate even—and another to address the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, all agape or asleep, as the case may be—and I dare say you found that it was so. But you seem to have broken ground, fairly, in the way in which it was most prudent to do so—in confining yourself to a plain matter-of-fact statement of what was both to the point, perfectly familiar to you, and new to the great majority of your hearers, seasoning it with a figure at the close, which, however filched from the table of Westminster Hospital hard by, was nevertheless to the point.

Amongst the criticisms upon your *début*, may you meet

¹ Mr. Tom Duncombe.

² The motion was rejected by 149 to 118.

with none less friendly, and amongst the expressions of interest which may attend your entry upon your new duties, none less sincere than those of

Your old Governor,
C. J. LATROBE.

From his Uncle, Sir Culling Eardley.

UPPER BROOK STREET, February 11, 1860.

I am greatly gratified by the universal testimony which is borne to the success of your speech.

Arthur Kinnaird told me that it is by far the best speech that has been made on the Ballot for a long time, and that few new members have begun as well as you have. I am truly glad.

Are you free on Wednesday? If so, I think you would like to meet Sir John Lawrence¹ and Colonel Herbert Edwardes² at Kinnaird's, and Mrs. Kinnaird charged me to give you this card.

Mr. Berkeley, one of the earliest advocates of the Ballot, was absent when Mr. Duncombe brought on his annual motion, but he wrote—

From Mr. Henry Berkeley to Mr. Walbanke Childers.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, February 10, 1860.

Let me congratulate you on sending to us one bearing the name of a Parliamentary warrior, and doing credit to it.

Mr. Childers made the most telling speech on the Ballot that has been made for a length of time, and it is so spoken of by everybody. Duncombe, failing to come on on Wednesday, seized upon Thursday. I was absent, and regret it much, but business prevented me from being there.

Within a week of his making his first speech, the death of his mother took place. An only son (and for many years an only child), his career had been watched by her with devotion and a just pride. Though in failing health for some time past, she was permitted to live just long

¹ Governor-General of India.

² Sir Herbert Edwardes of Punjab fame.



Lady Culling Smith.
Daughter of Lord Cardley - Grandmother of W. Cudde

From a Pension

enough to see him returned to the House of Commons, and to read of his successful maiden speech.

During the session of 1860 he earned a reputation for great business capacity ; he served on committees, kept a special eye on Colonial questions, and was ever ready to help in charitable causes. He went to Ireland in the autumn to assist his uncle in the British Syrian Relief Fund.

From his Uncle, Sir Culling Eardley.

BRITISH SYRIAN RELIEF FUND,

12, YORK BUILDINGS, ADELPHI, LONDON, W.C.,

October 1, 1860.

Could you run down to Dublin for me, to attend a meeting for Syria? Cardinal Wiseman positively refuses co-operation, and it remains to be seen if the laity will refuse to concur in a work of humanity, placed under the direction of the Queen's Consul, with (as now under it) Roman Catholics, Greeks, and Jews placed as the Committee of Administration at Beyroot.

Could you give a week to Dublin?

You should go fortified with letters to Lord Carlisle¹ and Mr. Cardwell¹—our travelling agent should go at the same time—to get up a good meeting.

From Sir Culling Eardley.

BEDWELL PARK, November 17, 1860.

I cannot too strongly say of what very great value your services have been. I am only sorry that you were laid up in the public service.

We shall get, I suppose, nearly £1000 from Dublin. It will be all wanted. My letters to-day from Syria confirm all that the *Times* correspondent says to-day. But Delane is a strange man. Baron Rothschild has spoken to him, and he says "it is impossible to feed a nation," and so excuses himself for not giving us leaders. However, he (Rothschild) passes Sabbath with him to-day, and he will hear of it again.

¹ At that time Lord-Lieutenant and Chief Secretary for Ireland respectively.

If you return on Monday, try to be at the Syrian Committee on Tuesday. I send you my notice. You will find Sir Moses¹ and others there; I cannot come this time.

A thousand thanks in my own and the Committee's name. Thank your dear wife for her two letters. Tell her that when you are Minister for the Colonies she will make a capital secretary.

Since his return from Australia Mr. Childers had not settled in any permanent residence, but had moved from one furnished house to another, from Onslow Square to Curzon Street, and thence to Eaton Square.

At this time Mr. Freake² was beginning to build the north side of the square now known as Princes Gardens; the neighbourhood was attractive: there were gardens behind the houses, and on the east side was the large field belonging to Lord Listowel, which formed part of the grounds of Kingston House, the site of the present Ennismore Gardens. This field, with its trees and cattle, gave an unusually rural character to the surroundings of a London square. Mrs. Childers, who was always fond of country life, at once took a liking to it; a lease of No. 17 was taken, and here he continued to live until some years after her death.

The House of Commons work was now supplemented by much City business; he became a director of the London and North-Western Railway Company, and continued to act as agent for the colony of Victoria.

January 1, 1861.—At the club the talk dismal about the United States. Milnes writes to me from Broadlands that "Palmerston is not as unhappy at the disruption of the Union as I am."

January 6.—Took Lennie to church (11) at Mr. Molyneux's, Onslow Square. He preached from Phil. iii.

¹ Sir Moses Montefiore.

² Afterwards Sir Charles.

13, 14. Very voluble and rather eloquent; Calvinist and theoretical in the extreme; *e.g.* "We are never to remember our sins, because God has wiped them out; or our good deeds, because He remembers them for us." He condemned "all the books of preparation for the Communion." The church studiously affects everything in church architecture now objected to; galleries, no chancel, high pulpit in front of communion table, etc. Freake, the builder, gave £5000. Only opened this Christmas.

January 10.—To York by the 12.45 train to attend a banquet to Yorkshire members. Sir C. Wood in the carriage. Went to the Mansion House and made arrangements with Leeman;¹ then to the crypt (lighted up) and to service. Organ very grand. The Lord Mayor's banquet at six; began at seven. Archbishop of York;² Lords Zetland, Faversham, and Wenlock; the Dean,³ Robert Lawley, thirteen M.P.s (Milnes, Thomson, City members, etc.). Leeman managed everything well. Sir C. Wood⁴ spoke fairly for H.M. Ministers.

January 11.—To Doncaster by 12.15 with Sir C. Wood. He recommended Barkly to Lord Grey for Demerara. They will proclaim gold currency in India when the rupee equals two shillings (? Greek calends). India will be financially right (if nothing new) in 1862-63. Advised me to aim at London and North-Western chairmanship. No impediment to office, rather the contrary.

January 13.—Australian mail (*Marseilles*) in. Heard from Government, who entirely approve my proceedings, and request me to superintend shipment of sewerage and water supply material; from Glyn,⁵ that his father⁶ will try to have me elected to London and North-Western by the Board.

February 7.—Blake⁷ came to tell me I was elected on

¹ Afterwards M.P. for York.

² Charles T. Longley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

³ Hon. Augustus Duncombe.

⁴ Secretary for India.

⁵ M.P. for Shaftesbury, afterwards second Lord Wolverton.

⁶ The eminent banker, created Lord Wolverton in 1869.

⁷ Mr. Henry Wollaston Blake, who had married a daughter of Mr. Walbanke Childers.

the North-Western Board ; at first without opposition, but when, subsequently, more candidates were proposed than vacancies, an ineffectual attempt was made to re-open the election.

February 9.—Called for Blake, and went to the North-Western Board at 9.30. Introduced to every one. Mr. Rathbone very kind, and explained everything to me. Sat till after two.

February 10.—Breakfasted with Train,¹ meeting a party, chiefly literary : Cruikshank, G. A. Sala, Hepworth-Dixon,² Dr. Doran, Stephens, etc., and one of the Kennards. Afterwards talked over his street railways. I am to consult Leeman. To St. Paul's with the Eardleys. Heard a very powerful sermon from Dr. Magee. The singing good, organ wonderful.

February 22.—To the Board at Euston at 11, and the half-yearly meeting at 12. Very stormy, and I should say most unsatisfactory. Moorsom is a bad chairman, and I imagine the policy of the Board is really unpopular.

March 1.—At the House ; moved at half-past seven for a committee on transportation. Spoke for forty minutes ; thin house, and badly reported.

March 10.—After dinner went with E. from Vauxhall Station to Ewell and back. Walked to Cheam, and looked at the village, school-house, etc. The latter much improved, the former little changed since I saw it in about 1849.

March 12.—Looked into Railway Committees at the House. Elected Chairman to the Transportation Committee, and settled our order of business. Voted in the minority on Lord Palmerston's second Navy Committee resolution.

¹ In 1858-59 George Francis Train, an American, endeavoured to get an Act passed authorizing tramways in London ; failing this, he laid some by leave of the local authority, first in 1860 at Birkenhead—soon afterwards in London ; there were numerous accidents and serious inconvenience. The tramways were removed after one had been successfully indicted for a nuisance.

² The historian and critic.

March 13.—Went to the levée; very numerous presentations. Divided with Government in the minority, 220 to 248, in favour of Locke King's Bill (£10 county franchise). This fully justifies the Government in not persevering with Reform this year. Disraeli very severe on Lord John. In the evening went to Gilpin's¹ to meet Kossuth, and chatted with him.

March 23.—To Hammersmith Bridge, to see the University boat race. Oxford far ahead. Dined at Willis's Rooms, with the University boat crews, as Denman's² guest. Proposed the Boating Clubs of the Thames.

April 11.—Went back to the House. Called out about eleven o'clock, with news that the house next door to us was on fire. Found that our own drawing-room³ was set on fire by Robert in drawing the curtains, but the fire had been put out without injuring any other room, except discoloration. The drawing-room was nearly totally destroyed. Mr. Rudall was very kind, and took in our children.

April 13.—To Cheam, Emily meeting me at Croydon. Looked all over Mr. Tabor's (my old) school. Arrangements seemed good and sensible; infinitely more comfortable and decent than in my time.

April 15.—Took possession of 17, Prince's Gardens. Presented Anti-Transportation Petition. Heard the Budget. I almost wish he⁴ had kept his surplus till next year; but it is the best reduction, if any be desirable.

July 6.—Played in the match at Lord's between the two sides of the House of Commons. Made three runs in each innings. Beaten by nine wickets.

The following from the *Times* indicates the change which has come over Lord's since 1861.

THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE OPPOSITION.

This match was played on Saturday at Lord's (each side having the services of a bowler), and proved highly attractive, a large number

¹ Charles Gilpin, M.P. for Northampton.

² Hon. George (afterwards Mr. Justice) Denman, son of Lord Chief Justice Denman; himself an old Blue.

³ At 57, Eaton Square.

⁴ Mr. Gladstone.

of the nobility and gentry being present, upwards of eighty carriages being on the ground. The match was won by the Opposition, as the annexed score will illustrate :—

GOVERNMENT.

Hon. C. Carnegie, b Rogers	15	run out	0
Hon. C. Fitzwilliam, b Col. Bathurst ...	0	c Grey, b Rogers ...	1
Col. Davie, c Morgan, b Col. Bathurst	22	b Rogers	17
Mr. F. Foljambe, b Rogers	3	b Col. Bathurst	0
Mr. J. Walter, ¹ c Morgan, b Rogers.....	0	b Rogers	16
Col. Kingscote, c Taylor, b Col. Bathurst	1	b Rogers	0
Mr. H. Childers, c A. Bathurst, b			
Col. Bathurst	3	b Rogers	3
Hon. P. Wyndham, c Rogers, b Col.			
Bathurst.....	5	b Rogers	2
Mr. W. Lawson, ² b Walker	8	b Rogers	0
Mr. W. Martin, b Rogers	1	b Rogers	5
C. Robinson, not out	26	not out	2
Byes 2, 1-b 1, w 3.....	6	byes 2, 1-b 1, w 2	5
Total	90	Total	51

OPPOSITION.

Lord Stanhope, b Robinson	0		
Hon. G. Morgan, run out	13		
Mr. A. Bathurst, b Walter	3	not out	0
Col. Bathurst, c Martin, b Carnegie ...	52		
Mr. H. Bruen, c Davie, b Carnegie.....	28	c Robinson, b Walter	7
Mr. C. Du Cane, ³ b Robinson	14		
Lord Grey de Wilton, c Davie, b			
Carnegie	2		
Lord Burghley, ⁴ b Robinson	1		
Mr. J. Walker, b Walter	1		
Mr. W. Beach, ⁵ b Robinson	1		
Col. Taylor, ⁶ not out	0	not out	6
Byes 6, 1-b 1, w 6.....	13	w 1.....	1
Total	128	Total.....	14

Umpires—Dean and Grundy.

During the session of 1861 Mr. Childers brought forward in the House of Commons the subject of the

¹ The late proprietor of the *Times*.

² Now Sir Wilfrid.

³ Afterwards Sir Charles.

⁴ The third Marquis of Exeter.

⁵ Now Father of the House of Commons.

⁶ The late Colonel Taylor, Conservative Whip.

continuance of the transportation of convicts to Western Australia, and it was in no small degree due to his prevision and energy that the subsequent entire cessation of transportation was forced upon the Home Government.

The story is not without interest.

In 1853, the Duke of Newcastle, then Secretary for War and the Colonies, had announced in the House of Lords that no more convicts should be sent to the Eastern Australian colonies, and that transportation to Western Australia should only continue for a very short time, and to a limited extent. This latter arrangement was to meet the wishes of those interested in the colony who favoured the maintenance of convict labour—a view entirely opposed to the wishes of the older and more settled Eastern colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland.

Mr. Childers, having reason to know that endeavours would be made by the Government of Western Australia to increase the number of convicts sent to that Settlement, moved, on the 1st of March, 1861, for a committee to report on the subject. He obtained the committee; but, although he failed to secure the support of the majority, their report was unfavourable to any extension of the system.

But during the year 1862 an exceptional increase of crimes of violence in England and Ireland, especially of that class to which the word "garrotting" has been popularly applied, led to the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole question of Penal Servitude, Convict Discipline, and Tickets-of-Leave; and the supporters of transportation to Western Australia seized this opportunity again to press their views.

The appointment of the Royal Commission was viewed with the utmost alarm in Australia. An apprehension arose that the Home Government contemplated selecting some portion of Australia as a site for a new Penal Settlement.

A joint Petition to the Queen, was drawn up by three delegates from each colony, in which they humbly desired to impress upon her Majesty that, should any recommendation which the Royal Commission might make to revive transportation to Australia be adopted, the utmost dissatisfaction would be felt, and the strong feeling of loyalty would be materially weakened. "The Australian colonists," said the delegates, "look back with horror to the atrocious crimes perpetrated after the discovery of our gold fields, by a host of criminals who suddenly appeared among our community from adjacent penal colonies, and the remembrance of the state of society engendered by their presence is as yet too vivid to permit of our submitting to the resumption of transportation."

The Legislative Assembly of Victoria presented an address to the Queen, in which they stated that, as long as the gold fields presented such powerful attractions, it was immaterial whether convicts were landed in Victoria or the remote parts of the Australian continent, as no measures could be efficient to confine them within the limits of any Settlement.

An Anti-Transportation League was formed throughout the free colonies, and an appeal to the public of Great Britain was issued.

The Home Secretary, Sir George Grey, invited Mr. Childers to serve on the commission, if the numbers would permit of it.

To Mr. Henry Austin Bruce, M.P.

CANTLEY, DONCASTER, *December 12, 1862.*

Will you tell Sir George Grey that I shall be happy to serve on the intended commission should he desire, under the circumstances you mention, to include me in it? I am very glad to address you at the Home Office, and to add another to the congratulations of many friends.¹

¹ Mr. Bruce (first Lord Aberdare) had just been appointed Under Secretary of State at the Home Office.

The Royal Commission sat during the first half of 1863, and on the 20th of June reported almost unanimously in favour of sending all male convicts, not disqualified for labour in a colony, to Western Australia.

It now lay with the Home Government to consider what course they should adopt in view of the earnest and loyal addresses which had by this time reached the Queen from the Eastern colonies; and there can be little doubt that the action Mr. Childers had taken in the previous session, and his speech in favour of the discontinuance of all transportation greatly influenced the Home Government in the decision they arrived at, namely to refuse to adopt the recommendations of the Commission.

To Mr. E. G. FitzGibbon¹ (Hon. Secretary of the Anti-Transportation League).

17, PRINCE'S GARDENS, December 26, 1863.

I am happy to be able to inform you that the Imperial Government have decided not to adopt the recommendations of the Commission (as to Western Australia). On the 14th instant I had, with other gentlemen, the honour of an interview with the Duke of Newcastle, who authorized us to say that the Cabinet had unanimously resolved to maintain for the present the *status quo*.

We stated that, in our opinion, it would have been better if this declaration had been accompanied by a promise that transportation to Western Australia should be within a short time discontinued altogether. We urged that nothing else would entirely satisfy the free colonies, and that nothing short of a Parliamentary abolition of transportation to any part of the Australian continent would remove the danger of such an extension as the commission recommended.

The Duke of Newcastle was, however, not in a position to give this promise, and until Parliament meets, and the Government measure on the subject of Penal Discipline is introduced, there will be no means of ascertaining what prospect there may be of entire abolition.

Meanwhile I have ventured to advise several gentlemen

¹ Now Chairman of the Melbourne Board of Works.

who have consulted me not to embarrass the Government by addresses and deputations, but to use every endeavour to make the feeling of the colonies, and the reasons for that feeling, as widely known as possible.

But this announcement, followed as it was by a circular to the same effect from the Duke of Newcastle to the Governors of the Australian Colonies, was received in Victoria with mingled feelings and but scanty gratitude; and Mr. FitzGibbon replied that the intelligence that the recommendations of the Royal Commission in respect of Western Australia will not be adopted had, so far, diffused general satisfaction and verified the expectations formed from the previous liberal and generous policy of the Government, as administered by the Duke of Newcastle; but that the prospect of the continuance of transportation, on however small a scale, to Western Australia had damped the gratitude which a complete stoppage of the system would have called forth.

A second "Appeal to the People of Great Britain" was now issued, setting forth the facts, and demanding protection from the threatened calamity of a convict immigration. Twenty-seven thousand circulars were issued by Mr. Childers and Mr. Westgarth. The *Times* supported the movement, but the Home Government showed no sign of yielding.

*From Mr. James Service.*¹

17, WESTBOURNE PARK ROAD, April 14, 1864.

I went down to the Isle of Wight on Friday last, and, thanks to your kind introductory note, I had the great pleasure of lunching with Garibaldi at Mr. Seely's on Sunday last.

I have my Melbourne letters *via* Glasgow this morning, and from them it would appear that you are in the "odour of sanctity" for your anti-transportation efforts.

¹ Afterwards Premier of Victoria.

However, it is very evident that the colony will not be satisfied till transportation, even to Western Australia, is completely withdrawn. Do you think it would be any use to wait on Mr. Cardwell on this subject? There is no doubt we have an unanswerable case, and it is solely a question with the Home Government how long they can *impune* continue to send out convicts to Western Australia.

Just at this crisis the Duke of Newcastle passed away, and his place at the Colonial Office was taken by Mr. Cardwell. The Legislature of Victoria at once addressed resolutions to the new Secretary of State, as did also the Anti-Transportation League, but the replies of the Colonial Office were not more encouraging than before—"I can only express my regret" (writes Mr. Cardwell on the 2nd of June) "that it has not been possible to adopt to the full extent the views embodied in these resolutions."

This brought matters to a final crisis; on the 24th of August the Victorian Cabinet determined to establish a "boycott" of Western Australia, and circulars to the other Australian colonies were issued, inviting them to co-operate in framing a measure to prohibit all intercourse whatever with Western Australia "in order that her position as the only convict colony in Australia may be distinctly marked."

This step was taken without the sanction of the Governor, and drew from the Secretary for the Colonies some severe remarks on the action of the Government at Melbourne.

"In writing these letters without your sanction" (writes Mr. Cardwell to Sir Charles Darling) "your Ministers exceeded their legislative authority, and plainly violated those constitutional principles on which the well-working of every system of constitutional government depends.

"The observance of these principles is as valuable to every colony enjoying representative institutions as it is

to Great Britain herself; and I trust that you will be able to maintain in future a system of government consistent at once with the rights and liberties of the subject, and with a due regard to the just prerogative of the Crown.

Having administered this rebuke, the Secretary of State proceeded to haul down his colours, and informed the Governor that "upon a full and careful review of the question in all its bearings, Her Majesty's Government have determined to propose to Parliament measures which will, in the short period of three years, render it unnecessary any longer to continue transportation to Western Australia."

In taking this decision Her Majesty's Government had been mainly influenced by a sincere desire to give complete effect to the earnest wishes expressed in those addresses to her Majesty from the Eastern colonies, which were recognized by the Duke of Newcastle as "from their origin, their earnestness, their loyalty, representing not only the numbers, but also the property, the intelligence, and the character of those communities, and as expressing not mere popular prejudice, but deep feelings and moral convictions."

This was a great victory for the free colonies; the members of the Anti-Transportation League in Melbourne had just cause to be jubilant, and they warmly acknowledged the services Mr. Childers had rendered in the following Address:—

TOWN HALL, MELBOURNE, *February 24, 1865.*

Whilst congratulating ourselves upon having had averted from us the stream of felony which would have poured forth from the convict depôt which the Royal Commissioners proposed to extend and perpetuate in our neighbourhood, we desire to express our grateful acknowledgments to all whom we are in any degree indebted to for deliverance from the pollution and

disgrace of convict association. But to you, sir, we especially desire to tender our warmest thanks for your efforts in this righteous cause in your place in the House of Commons; for your able and intrepid exertions as a member of the Royal Commission, and for your energetic and valuable aid in forwarding our remonstrances and appeals in the Mother Country.

This incident has led to some anticipation, and we must now return to the chronological sequence of events.

On the 7th of January, 1862, Mr. Childers introduced to the Secretary of State for the Colonies an Australian deputation to present an address of condolence on the death of the Prince Consort, which he thus records in his Journal:—

A very respectable committee. The Duke of Newcastle told us that the Queen is wonderfully calm; speaks much about the Prince, and is not affected in health. We talked about war and its effect on Australia. He said that he did not "think the chances of peace nearly so good to-day as yesterday," *i.e.* before the *Europa's* news.¹

The London and North-Western Railway Board affairs took up much of his time during the day.

January 9.—Went to Wolverton by the 9.30 train to see the works, and to talk over "Locomotive Expenditure" with McConnell. Read through all the papers in his case. I am satisfied that in many respects he is in the right. But the fault appears to be the want of a regular system of estimates, framed periodically.

January 13.—Went by the ten a.m. train to Crewe. Was about an hour with Ramsbotham, and then drove to Crewe Hall.² Found the Milneses, Mrs. Blackbourne, Colonel Crewe, and a parson brother of Miss Clayton. A pleasant evening. It is a beautiful Elizabethan house, lately restored, full of pictures, etc.

¹ News of the "*Trent* affair" brought by the *Europa*.

² The house of Lord Crewe, grandfather of the present peer.

January 15.—Euston, special board, eleven till five. Spoke for McConnell, and divided in the minority of 11 to 14, with Glyn, Benson, Hodgson, Bisley, Blake, Ewart, Cropper, Melville, Creed, and the Duke of Sutherland.

January 17.—Took Charlie to Cheam from Victoria station; Octavius Browne and his boys with us. Met F. H. Fitzroy, who was a boy there. Compared notes of old Cheam boys. G. H. Money¹ and H. Higgins dined with me. Talked to the former about chance of Australian Agency work.

April 2.—Lunched at my uncle Culling's to meet Mason.² Talk about slavery. He said that families were always sold together, when under a judicial sale.

May 30.—At the House from four to seven. Divided for Sir De Lacy Evans's motion about purchase. Dined with Emily at the Milnes's. Lord Campbell,³ Countess Telehi, M. Wilowski, Louis Blanc, Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle, Sir H. and Lady Holland,⁴ Mr. and Mrs. Pollock, Kinglake,⁵ Venables.

June 7.—Went by the 9.30 train to Blackwall, and met the directors of the Hudson Bay Company. Breakfasted with them, and then to Gravesend by boat. Inspected the two ships about to sail, and went some miles down the river. Dined at Gravesend and returned by Blackwall. In addition to the directors and officers there were Lord Auckland,⁶ Lord Selkirk, E. Ellice, senr.⁷ and junr.,⁸ Lowe,

¹ Lieut.-Colonel of the Tower Hamlet Volunteers; author of "Our Tent in the Crimea."

² One of the two agents from the Confederate Government.

³ Lord Strathden and Campbell, son of the Chancellor.

⁴ This Sir Henry Holland was the father of Lord Knutsford, and Lady Holland was a daughter of Sydney Smith.

⁵ M.P. for Bridgwater; author of "Eothen" and the "Invasion of the Crimea."

⁶ Bishop of Bath and Wells.

⁷ "Bear" Ellice, a well-known Whig, for about sixty years in the fur trade, forty of them in the Hudson Bay Company.

⁸ Forty-two years M.P. for St. Andrews Burghs.

Sir W. Dunbar,¹ Lord Raynham,² K. D. Hodgson, Lyall,³ Malcolm, and many others.

June 16.—At the House from 4 to 7 and 10 to 12. Divided twice with Government on the Land Registry Bill.⁴ Offered and accepted a seat at the London and County Bank.

June 19.—At Euston, Finance Committee, 10 to 11.30. At Liverpool and London⁵ and Messrs. Phillips'. At bank 1 to 3. At the House 4.30 to 11.30. Dined there. Drove home for half an hour. Voted for Cairns's and Laird's amendments in the Merchant Shipping Bill. Benson proposed to me to join in a French Railway concession.

November 19.—Arrived at Bretton⁶ soon after five. An abominable fly and pair. Found there Lady Clanricarde, Sir Edward, Lady and Miss Blackett, Mr. and Mrs. Archibald Peel, Lord and Lady Robert Cecil, Godfrey and Miss Beaumont, Mr. Ogle, Rev. W. C. Ellis,⁷ Lord Howard de Walden's son, etc. A little stiff at first. Took Lady Blackett to dinner and chatted with Mrs. Peel.

December 3.—Dined at the North American Association's dinner to the delegates; taking Sir D. Cooper with me and Money my guest. Crawford in the chair.

Since his return from Melbourne he had continued to keep up an extensive correspondence with his old Victorian colleagues and friends; presumably pressure of business precluded the possibility of keeping copies of his own letters, as at this time he had no private secretary. Mr. Haines, his old chief in the Victorian Government, Mr. O'Shanassy, Sir Henry Barkly, Mr. Tyler, Mr. Gavan

¹ A Lord of the Treasury, Keeper of the Prince of Wales's Privy Seal.

² M.P. for Tamworth, afterwards Marquess Townshend.

³ Probably Alfred Lyall, the philosopher and traveller, 1795-1865.

⁴ Lord Westbury's measure.

⁵ The Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Co.

⁶ Residence of Mr. Wentworth Beaumont.

⁷ Now Rector of Bothal, Northumberland.

Duffy, and many others wrote to him from time to time, and enabled him to keep in touch with Australian affairs. Indeed, later on he was attacked for interfering too much in Victorian politics, and was most unjustly accused of using influence at home to obtain the recall of Sir Charles Darling.

Notwithstanding the disappointment he had experienced about the Agency in 1857, he had continued to act for the colony during the last six years, but his status was still undefined; and although Mr. O'Shanassy, now Prime Minister, foreshadows a settlement, the question was not decided till two years later.

From Mr. John O'Shanassy.

MELBOURNE, November 25, 1862.

I have to acknowledge your letter of the 25th of September. I am very grateful for the news you send me, but I am especially thankful for your last letter. My sons were much pleased with their visit to London. They did not overlook the Victorian side of the Exhibition, and felt naturally proud of the display made by their native country. It is agreed by the Victorian Government to change your title in London if you have no objection. You are to be called the "Agent for Victoria" in future. What will H.M. say to this assumption on our part? I fancy she must revenge herself upon you. She must dub you with another title—say Sir H. C. E. C. We are about to introduce an Immigration Bill. Mr. Anderson proposes to confer certain powers on yourself, and to associate with you some other persons of high standing at home, to aid in furtherance of immigration to Victoria. I read that part of your letter to my colleagues which related to this important subject, and by next mail I hope to send you full details. By this mail Mr. Crosbie Ward returns to London, to urge, on behalf of New Zealand and New South Wales, the "Panama route." Dr. Evans submits a minute to-morrow to the Governor, for transmission to the Home Government, declining on the part of this colony to join in this arrangement. I presume you will act for Victoria in the matter, and express what you must know is the

universal feeling of this Government and people on the question. What we really want is direct steam communication *via* the Cape, to bring both mails and passengers. Failing that, the present arrangements, I suppose, must remain, or, in the event of a fortnightly mail by the agency of the P. and O. Company's line, I fancy, if suitable terms can be made, we must accept them. But the Home Government ought to make a condition that the Australian colonies should pay *pro rata*, as at present, if an additional outlay is at all to be incurred. I need not say that we would prefer the fortnightly mail without *any* or much more outlay. Will the Imperial Government not contribute if we build iron-cased ships on the plan you sent us? Mr. Haines is about to ask our Parliament for £60,000 to build *one*. Could you not urge the British Government to send us the other? We will man *both*, and thus preserve a large British interest as well as defend our own honour as colonists. I expect to hear from you shortly about the final action of the House of Commons on the report of the committee about the Mint.¹ The political horizon is tolerably clear at present on this side. How long it may continue I leave you to guess. I am in hopes that ere long we may secure a better class of representatives for the Assembly; as for the council, "it is all serene." We have a good many important internal measures ready, and hope to pass most of them. You will hear about the Governor's Salary Bill, and the Duke of Newcastle's despatch thereon. I hope the question will terminate then.

From Mr. W. Haines.

TREASURY, MELBOURNE, May 25, 1863.

With regard to the question of our defences. I am anxious, if possible, to induce the Legislature to sanction some definite proposal being made to the Imperial Government. It is no use for the local Government to present any scheme for the consideration of the Home authority, unless it has the sanction of the Legislature, and some guarantee from it of the permanence of the arrangement. What I shall propose to the Legislature will be to this

¹ A branch of the Royal Mint had been opened at Sydney in 1855; Melbourne obtained the privilege in 1872, and Perth in 1897. The Mints are for the coinage of gold only.

effect, viz., that the recommendations of Sir John Hay's Committee should be carried out—namely, that we should complete the works now in course of construction, and mount the guns we have; that we should purchase two "turret ships" of the smaller class, one this year, one next year. The next question is as to the number of men necessary to render these defensive works effective. With about 240 Imperial artillery men, say two batteries, with a reduced staff of officers, I think we could do all that is required. Our volunteers and a coast brigade, which I propose forming, and which will be a force analogous to a militia, will supply a sufficient force to rally round the nucleus of the regular troops.

I observe that most of the leading men who gave evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons are of opinion that the primary responsibility of our defence should be thrown upon the colony: that the Imperial Government should lend assistance, either by sending troops or by pecuniary contribution. Godley,¹ I remark, thinks the assistance should be in money only. I confess I would prefer troops, if some guarantee would be given that they would not be removed in time of war, or, at any rate, that sufficient notice of their removal should be given to enable the colony to replace them by raising a local force for permanent duty. Without a guarantee of this nature I think we had better take the money. It is well, I think, that a certain number of Imperial troops should be stationed in the colony on what, I see, is termed the "flag and red coat principle," by Lord Herbert, as a symbol of Imperial authority, though perhaps in no colony is there less necessity for some outward sign to mark our subjection to British rule. I do not hesitate to say—and I am sure your own experience of the colony will confirm my statement—that there is no more loyal body of colonists in the Empire. I trust that this fact will be recognized eventually in England.

I do not expect to carry out my views without a good deal of discussion, and possibly some amount of modifica-

¹ Assistant Under-Secretary at the War Office under Lord Panmure, General Peel, and Lord Herbert, author of "Letters from America." He thus summed up Colonial management: "I would rather be governed by a Nero on the spot than by a Board of Angels in London, because we could if the worst came to the worst cut off Nero's head, but we could not get at the Board in London at all."

tion. I trust, however, that some decision may be arrived at which will admit of early action being taken. I think the present, when there is no immediate prospect of England being involved in war, is a favourable time for dealing with the question. We are always subject to ridiculous panics when there is a prospect of hostilities; and the arrangements made during a panic would most probably be of a very imperfect, and, at the same time, of a very expensive character.

I have withdrawn the Volunteer Bill, and propose introducing two others, of which I forward copies by this mail, one to amend the present Volunteer Acts, more complete than that I sent you, and another for regulating paid forces in the Colonial service. If these two bills become law, we shall be in a state of comparative preparation, should the Imperial troops be withdrawn.

During the year 1863, additional City work came to him, which added considerably to his income.

January 1.—Took my seat as chairman of the London and County Bank, and as deputy at the Australasia Bank, 11.30 to 2.

January 10.—Went into the city by the Metropolitan from Paddington, opened to-day. At London and County and Bank of Australasia, 11.30 to 3. Saw Craufurd, and consented, on conditions, to be on the London Board of the Crédit Foncier Italien.

January 12.—At the Bank of Australasia and the London and County Bank, 12 to 2. Determined at the former to establish branches in New Zealand. Busy arranging for our children's party in the evening, to which sixty or more came. Conjuror and dancing 6 to 11.

February 21.—Mr. T. G. Knight called. He is being employed by the Government of Victoria to expend £5000 on emigration of Lancashire (etc.) people. I advised him to make terms with Mackay, and that I would then introduce him to Colonel Wilson Patten,¹ etc.

March 10.—The Prince's wedding day. With Emily to Cheam to see the boys. Took them to have some dinner at the Crystal Palace, and then home for the

¹ M.P. for North Lancashire, afterwards Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Lord Winmarleigh.

evening. Dined with the Goldsmiths Company, but Mr. Gladstone, who asked me, was not there. Emily went with a party to see the illuminations, and was not home till nearly five a.m.

March 18.—Took the chair at meeting called by Mr. Knight's circular ; forty to fifty present. London Tavern. Resolution to form Victoria Emigrants' Assistance Society adopted, with only five dissentients (Ebden, Brodribb, Dalgety, and two more). Committee elected, and £800 subscribed in the room.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE FRONT BENCH.

1864-1868.

Enters Office as Junior Lord of the Admiralty—Dockyard Accounts and Greenwich Hospital—Promoted to be Secretary to the Treasury—Brings in the Audit Bill—The Reform Bill of 1866—Reply to Mr. Lowe—Mr. Disraeli at the Treasury—The Irish Church—General Election of 1868—Appointed First Lord of the Admiralty.

THE year 1864 found him entering his fifth year of service in the House of Commons; a private member, active on committees, a firm supporter of Lord Palmerston's Government, with a prosperous business connection in the city; and now occurred a crisis in his fortunes, a turning point in his career. Early in March the resignation of Mr. Stansfeld on the Mazzini incident, caused a vacancy in the Admiralty Board, and Lord Palmerston, ever keen to note a likely recruit for the ranks of the Ministry, offered him the Junior Lordship. Mrs. Childers enters in her journal:—

April 12.—A very busy day (and a very important one in our career). Hugh full of great news. The Junior Lordship of the Admiralty has been offered to him. "What shall we do?"

April 13.—This morning Hugh had a long talk with Mr. Glyn, Mr. Brand, Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Scholefield, and Sir C. Wood. Mr. Glyn at first sight was strongly in favour of his accepting the office; but Hugh's explanation of how it would affect his income very much staggered

him. The seven children in particular seemed quite to confound him! Mr. Scholefield also expressed the same in every way, but still thought it would be the best to accept—thought it fully worth the sacrifice, etc. Mr. Scholefield is a very good friend of Hugh's, and would really take pains to give him the best advice. Mr. Brand also wished him to accept strongly at first, but afterwards saw the difficulties and drawbacks as fully. I forget what his advice in the main was. Mr. Wilkinson¹ was rather against it. Last of all Sir C. Wood also pressed him to accept. But he had no idea either of the extent of the sacrifice to Hugh, and was very much startled by it. But he wished to think it over, and said he would talk to Mr. Brand² about it, and see Hugh to-morrow at 9.30. Hugh does not think he could reckon permanently upon making more than two-thirds of what he has now. These deductions would bring the amount of the actual sacrifice from about £3500 to £2100 a year.

A permanent sacrifice of more than £2000 a year was in his case indeed serious, and his uncle wrote from Cantley:—

April 13, 1864.

I think you will do wisely to refuse; still, it will not surprise me if you accept: in these things, *ce n'est que le premier pas*, and if the Whigs (who are nearly sure to go out in a twelvemonth) come in again, you will stand better if you accepted. Still, the Tories will probably have at least four or five years' innings, and you will be paying £2000 or £3000 a year for your whistle during that time.

Charles Wood has written to get me to ask you to take it; but my advice is, Refuse.

But Mr. Childers probably felt that his real *métier* was public administration; for, notwithstanding the above advice and the disadvantages which the official position entailed, he decided to accept the post.

¹ The late Mr. W. M. Wilkinson, his solicitor, always a most trusted friend.

² Ministerial Whip, afterwards Speaker; created Viscount Hampden.

Mrs. Childers records next day :—

April 14.—Another busy day indeed. Hugh went to Belgrave Square early, calling on Sir C. Wood and Mr. Brand for final advice. They rather gave it against, but C.¹ and I (who followed) took the other side, and finally Hugh went to Mr. Brand and accepted. God bless him in it.

On the 20th he was re-elected without opposition, and next day took his seat at the Admiralty Board. He writes :—

April 20.—Nomination at 11. Proposed by Carter and Hurst. No opposition. Spoke for twenty-five minutes. To town, arriving at six. In the evening to Mrs. Gladstone's (to meet Garibaldi) and to Lady Waldegrave's.

April 21.—Went to the Admiralty, and was introduced to the Duke² and the other Lords. At the Reform Club banquet to Garibaldi. . . . At the Bank of Australasia and London and County Bank.

Took my seat in the House, and stayed till one o'clock. In two divisions.

Many friends, both at home and in Australia, wrote to congratulate him, among others his former colleague Mr. C. Duffy.

From Mr. (afterwards Sir C. G.) Duffy.

MELBOURNE, *June 21, 1864.*

Let me congratulate you heartily on your accession to office. I feel a sort of personal triumph in it, because—knowing perhaps the *carte du pays* better than some of your ancient colleagues—I have already confidently predicted this result. Taking as a point of departure your explanation of . . . negotiations, which has not been matched on this side of the equator, as a cool, gentle manly, and skilful slaughter and routing of an impostor—I presume you would “go far”—and you cannot go farther than my good wishes will follow you.

¹ Charles Walker, her brother, Fellow of Trinity, and barrister of Lincoln's Inn.

² The Duke of Somerset, First Lord of the Admiralty.

I hope to be in London in about a year, but I scarcely hope to find you still in office, as I note how impatient and how strong the Opposition are growing. I will regret the fall of the Palmerston Government whenever the event comes, not on political grounds, but because it contains two members beside yourself in whose career I take a personal interest.

You are going to War, I am afraid ; and if mere Colonial people might presume to have an opinion on these high topics of imperial policy, for *one* result only, I fear—to give the Rhineland to our august ally. If, on ordinary occasions, "only the devil knows what he means," a simpler intellect may read the present riddle.

Mr. Duffy refers here to the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty.¹ Public sympathy was greatly in favour of Denmark. A critical division was taken in the House of Commons, but by eighteen votes the Government's policy of non-interference was approved.²

Mr. Childers took the precaution of inquiring to what extent he was free to retain some of his City appointments ; and the reply to his inquiry is interesting in these days, when the subject has been made the matter of considerable discussion.

From Mr. H. Brand.

TREASURY, S.W., *April 25, 1864.*

In answer to your letter of the 22nd instant, Lord Palmerston desires me to say that he sees no objection

¹ Earl (formerly Lord John) Russell was now Foreign Secretary.

² Lady Russell thus wrote to Mrs. Elliot, who afterwards became Mr. Childers's second wife—"Let us hope that peace is at hand and that those shameless Prussians have done their worst. We had a week of great political anxiety during the debate on Dizzy's motion, but we now only remember the victory with which it ended. I saw by J.'s depression and nervousness before that he would ill bear such a censure by the House of Commons as would have been implied in a defeat. I went to hear his speech, a thing I seldom do, but I felt I could not stay alone at home and not even know how he was getting on. Our triumph was quickly followed by another of hardly less importance : at three a.m. we were hurrahing for the majority of eighteen ; at one p.m. we were at Lord's, cheering and throwing up our hats and chairing the victorious Harrovians !"

to a member of the Government retaining other employment, provided that employment can be carried on without prejudice to the Queen's service, which has the paramount claim.

Subject to that rule, he leaves it to you to determine what class of business you may, as a member of the Government, properly retain.

He thinks that the rule should be applied with strictness to foreign undertakings.

Under these circumstances Mr. Childers felt no compunction at remaining a Director of the London and County Bank as long as he was at the Admiralty.¹

He was soon in official harness, mastering the details of naval expenditure, and gaining an insight into the working of Admiralty administration, with which five years later it was to fall to his lot to deal as First Lord. He accompanied the Duke of Somerset at the frequent "visitations" of dockyards at home and abroad, and while inspecting at Devonport, no doubt found time to look up an old schoolfellow, Major (afterwards Sir George) Colley.

From Mr. Henry F. Colley.

FERNEY, STILLORGAN, *August 11, 1864.*

As I believe you are going on a round of inspection with the other Lords of the Admiralty, and that

¹ As soon, however, as he went to the Treasury he severed his banking connection.

To the Directors of the London and County Bank.

December 19, 1865.

In compliance with the wish which you have been on more than one occasion good enough to express, I have held for more than a year while at the Admiralty my seat at the Board of the Bank. But the office to which I have now been appointed is of such a character as to prevent me from, even nominally, remaining a Director of any banking institution, and I am therefore obliged to ask you to allow me to resign my seat.

I can assure you that I shall always have a most agreeable recollection of my work at the Bank, and that I much regret that I am no longer able to be your colleague.

Devonport is the next place you are to visit, I venture to write you a few lines to let you know that my brother George is stationed there, and that I am just writing to him to call upon you. As well as I can recollect, he was at Cheam for about a year before you left, but he must have been a very little fellow, and you have probably not much recollection of him. But I may say (though he is my brother) that his course since he left Cheam has not been altogether without distinction ; he gained his commission from Sandhurst, when he was first of his year ; afterwards he went to the Cape, and was appointed to a very responsible post as magistrate of a newly annexed district, where, I believe, he gave full satisfaction to his employers ; afterwards he served in China ; then entered the Staff College, and came out again as first of his year. Since then he has been made brevet-major, and afterwards brigade-major at Devonport. As he might be shy of calling on you on the strength of so slight an acquaintance as he had with you at Cheam, I have taken the liberty of thus recommending him to your notice.

I went to Cheam since I saw you, and saw your son there, and was quite amused with his likeness to you. I also saw a son of Fitzroy, and a nephew of John Probyn, and the likeness was striking in each case ; it seemed so strange to have one's old school-fellows thus brought before one again.

Besides the ordinary business of looking after the Navy Estimates, his special work, while Junior Lord of the Admiralty, included the improving of the system of dockyard accounts, and the arrangements under which Greenwich Hospital was re-organized.

Under the former head, means were adopted, for the first time, by which a comparison between the cost of operations in the dockyards and in the private trade could be instituted ; and complete capital and income accounts with respect to dockyards and other naval establishments, both at home and abroad, were to be rendered to Parliament. The duty of preparing accounts of each dockyard was concentrated in one officer, under the Accountant - General. The cumbrous system of

measurement and check on the professional officers was also reformed.

One of the noblest of our national institutions was, as administered at this time, by no means popular with those seamen and marines for whose benefit it had been endowed.

Greenwich Hospital enjoys a vast revenue derived from various sources: it obtains a grant of £20,000 from the Consolidated Fund in lieu of "seamen's sixpences" (as certain deductions from merchant seamen's wages were called); it receives £40,000 a year from rents in various counties, and a large sum for interest on certain invested moneys. Yet, although the total amount of its income at this period exceeded £150,000, it maintained only 1600 pensioners. This state of affairs was so discreditable that the Commissioners had recommended that every endeavour should be made to increase the number by 700; but in spite of every effort and of increased comforts, there were in 1864 only 1508 inmates. It was to make a better use of this princely income that Mr. Childers, in April, 1865, brought in the Greenwich Hospital Bill. He explained that its object was to limit admission to the hospital itself to wounded and helpless or infirm seamen or marines, and to apply the large and increasing funds of the institution to augment the out-pensions of seamen and give additional retirement to certain officers.

The control of the income of Greenwich Hospital was to be placed under the House of Commons; under no circumstances was it to be regarded as part of the general revenue of the country, but it was to be used solely for maintaining a Hospital and Infirmary for 600 seamen, and to the granting of special pensions, called "Greenwich out-pensions," to 4317 out-pensioners, besides giving assistance to Merchant Seamen's Hospitals. The general effect of this measure was that the advantages of the hospital,

instead of being confined to 1500, would be extended to 6000 men.

Under the provisions of the Bill, which passed both Houses in July, 1865, inmates of the hospital willing to reside elsewhere were permitted to do so, suitable pensions being granted to them. The office of the Commissioners was abolished, and on the death of the Governor and Lieut.-Governor, the control of the hospital was to be vested in the Admiralty.

The Act took effect from September 30, 1865, when many of the pensioners removed from the hospital, to reside with their friends or relations.

The success of this voluntary offer was so distinct that four years after, Mr. Childers, when First Lord, made the condition of leaving compulsory.

It was supposed at the time when Mr. Childers was Secretary of State for War that he designed treating Chelsea Hospital in a similar way; but this rumour was, for a very good reason, without foundation.

"I do not oppose," wrote he,¹ "the Chelsea and Kilmainham system; but if there had been money, as there was at Greenwich, I should have preferred raising the old fellows' pensions. But it would have cost £400,000 a year at least."

Navy Estimates kept Mr. Childers employed during the spring of 1865. His Journal at this time is a record of hard official work. "At the office from 11 till 4; at the House from 4.30 till 12.30," comes over and over again.

In March, his second son, Leonard, whose tragic end was so soon to come, went up from Cheam school for the Navy, and passed in sixth. The Parliament of 1859, which had existed six years, was dissolved in July, and the constituencies sent Lord Palmerston back with a sufficient majority to continue in office. At Pontefract

¹ To his Son, Spencer, October 31, 1892.

Mr. Childers held his own, though the second seat was obtained by a Conservative—Childers, 359; Waterhouse, 330; Macarthur, 288.

During August, dockyard inspections at Devonport and Portsmouth were followed by the Naval Review at Cherbourg.

August 13.—Went on board the *Osborne* at Portsmouth late in the evening, when the Duke (of Somerset) told me I was appointed to the Treasury (as Parliamentary Secretary).

He at once wrote to Mr. Gladstone:—

H.M.S. "ENCHANTRESS," *August 13, 1865.*

The Duke of Somerset has just told me, from Lord Palmerston, that I am to succeed Mr. Peel¹ at the Treasury, but that I had better go with him to Cherbourg. We are off early to-morrow morning, but I cannot leave without sending you this note to thank you for the interest that you have been good enough to take in me.

Mr. Gladstone replied that he *had* strongly recommended him to Lord Palmerston, that he would find plenty to do, and he then proceeded to explain that "the relations between our two offices is one of peculiar intimacy; greater, I think, in reality than (in most cases, at least) between Secretary and Under-Secretary of State." The Treasury, he added (that is, the Board), wanted re-organization altogether; but he did not think Lord Palmerston was disposed to undertake it.

The history of the relations existing between the Ministers in the last Cabinet of Lord Palmerston has yet to be written;² but it is fairly well known to the world now that Lord Palmerston and his Whig colleagues

¹ Now the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Peel, K.C.M.G.

² For the following information on the subject of the Treasury I am indebted to the kindness of Lord Welby.

differed widely from Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone on questions of public expenditure.¹ The Government, on the whole professing to be on the economical side, enormously increased the Estimates in 1860, carrying the Income Tax up to tenpence ; and, from that time, during the remaining existence of the Palmerston Cabinet, a constant conflict existed on the subject of expenditure. The memorial from the Liberal Party to Lord Palmerston, in 1862, in favour of economy, marked the commencement of the policy of retrenchment of which Mr. Gladstone was the leading exponent, and in which he triumphed, as shown by the fact that at the close of the Administration the Estimates had been reduced to nearly the level of 1857-58. In this line of policy Mr. Childers was a firm supporter of Mr. Gladstone ; and this, no doubt, laid the foundation of the political intimacy which existed between them.

The position of the Treasury in our Constitution is unique. It possesses all the powers and functions formerly wielded by the Lord High Treasurer ; the latter had, for centuries, been the Chief Minister of the Crown, and his office was therefore invested with traditional as well as statutory powers, which have in great measure passed to the Treasury. The First Lord (usually the Prime Minister) is, of course, the ultimate head of financial government, but practically he is rather a Court of Appeal between the Treasury and other Ministers, than the active chief of Treasury administration. The Minister, therefore, who in practice wields all the power of the Treasury is the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in official rank, is the Second Lord of the Treasury ; and the lieutenant of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in both the House of

¹ "Without doubt," wrote Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Childers in 1884, "you hold the most invidious office in the Cabinet. I have reason to know it from experience, for in 1859-65 the Estimates were ordinarily settled at the sword's point ; and the anti-economist host was led on by the Prime Minister."

Commons and in administration, is the Financial Secretary of the Treasury.

But further than this, all the ordinary business of the Treasury is transacted by the Financial Secretary, who only refers to the Chancellor of the Exchequer cases of such importance as to deserve the special attention of that officer. No measure in any department, increasing or tending to increase the public expenditure, can be adopted without the consent of the Treasury, and the Financial Secretary is specially entrusted with the exercise of these powers of control, subject, of course (when the occasion demands it), to the supervision of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

On the 29th of August, 1865, Mr. Childers took up his work at the Treasury, and he remained there until the Government went out in the July of the following year—a period of about ten months. His attention was directed at once to three important administrative questions. The first and most pressing was the consideration of the measures which should be submitted to Parliament for the simplification and uniformity of the audit of Public Accounts. Since the Revolution the House of Commons had in theory held the purse strings, and had appropriated its grants for the services for which it intended them; but for considerably more than a century it took no pains to ascertain that each grant was actually spent upon the service to which it was appropriated. Sir James Graham, as First Lord of the Admiralty in Lord Grey's Ministry of 1830, first hit this blot in our financial system, and on his motion Parliament passed an Act requiring that an account, showing how the moneys granted for naval services had actually been spent, should be verified by the Audit Office and laid before the House of Commons. The precedent then set for the Navy was, in 1848, extended to the expenditure of the Army and Ordnance

Departments, and from that time appropriation accounts of naval and military expenditure, verified by the Audit Office, were laid before Parliament. In 1856 a strong committee of the House of Commons, under the presidency of Sir George Cornewall Lewis, was appointed to consider the control over public moneys. Financial authorities, in Parliament and the Civil Service, had up to that time believed that the control of the House of Commons over public expenditure could be established by a check upon the issue of money from the Exchequer. The idea is futile, and the wonder is that able men should have remained so long blind to its futility. If a squire gives his bailiff £20, and tells him to pay therewith certain bills, he will not be satisfied with that direction, but will require to see the receipts. The House of Commons authorized the issue of moneys to its bailiff, the Ministry, but never asked to see the receipts.

The next step towards completing public accountability was taken by Mr. Gladstone. In 1861, on his motion, a standing committee of the House of Commons on public accounts was appointed. All accounts of the expenditure of public money were to be submitted to this committee, and thus a tribunal was created inside the House, which would enable the House, as soon as the system of accountability should be perfected, to satisfy itself that its grants had really been expended upon the objects to which it had appropriated them.

One measure, but a very important measure, was wanting to complete the system. This measure became law in 1866. It replaced the old audit board by a single comptroller and auditor-general, absolutely independent of the executive Government. It treated him as a judicial officer. His salary, like that of the judges, was not voted annually, but charged once and for all on the Consolidated Fund, and he is only removable

from his office on addresses from both Houses of Parliament. The Act directed that departments entrusted with public money should render accounts of their expenditure to the Comptroller and Auditor-General, who, in auditing them, should have right of access to the books and records of the accounting departments, that he should certify and report on them, and that the accounts, with his report, should be laid before the House of Commons. The House of Commons refers them to its Committee on Public Accounts, and the Committee advises the House on all irregularities in the public expenditure which the Comptroller and Auditor-General has brought to notice.

The Exchequer and Audit Act was especially the work of Mr. Childers, assisted by Mr. (Sir William) Anderson and Mr. Macaulay, the Secretary of the Audit Department. It has now been in force for a third of a century. It has worked successfully, without friction, and practically without amendment. It established once and for all the active and living control of the House of Commons over public expenditure, and it is an efficient guarantee for the maintenance of order in the financial administration of the State.

It was only an administrative measure, and therefore never attracted public attention in the degree it deserved, but the authors of it should not be forgotten. In it was a far-reaching reform, and it has stood well the test of time and trial.

The second important subject was the management of the Crown Estates, including the settling of the Foreshore question, which had long been a thorny subject. The foreshores round the United Kingdom belong to the Crown (except when granted by Charter), and it was the duty of the Department of Woods and Forests to administer them for purposes of revenue; and constant

was the friction between this department and the towns or individuals who owned property adjoining.

Mr. Childers embodied in a Bill, which became law, a change, the gist of which was that the administration of the foreshores was transferred from the Woods and Forests, a revenue department, to the Board of Trade, in order that the foreshores might be administered for general public utility.

The third great question which he had to advise on was the purchase of the telegraphs from the private companies.

It so happened that the introduction of a Government service of electric telegraphs in Victoria had been mainly his work. Many years afterwards he wrote to remind an old Australian friend about the difficulties he had encountered in establishing the system.

To Mr. Lachlan Mackinnon.

January 14, 1881.

The hardest fight I had in those days was to establish a general system of electric telegraph in connection with Government. I proposed it to Mr. Latrobe in 1853, and he allowed me to put a sum on the Estimates for a telegraph to the Heads.¹ This was opposed in the Legislative Council by Mr. Cole, and negatived. I then got Mr. MacGowan to lay down two or three miles of telegraph from my (Audit) office to the principal buildings in Melbourne, and I asked the members of the Legislative Council to come and see it at work. They were at once convinced; and we then established the Telegraph Department, and laid down a network of telegraph lines to be gradually carried out all over the country. I also proposed that this should be worked as part of the Post-office business, so that even money orders might be paid by telegraph. I am not sure whether so far back as 1853 there was any telegraph department in any European Government, but all the regulations, etc., were framed by us, without reference to any others. I well

¹ Port Philip Heads—signal station for shipping.

remember Sir William Denison, who was the Governor of New South Wales, writing to Sir A. Clarke¹ and laughing at my "telegraph folly"; and it was some years before it reached that colony. Mr. Todd, in South Australia, very soon followed us.

He was, therefore, well able to assure Mr. Gladstone of the success which had attended the administration of the telegraph service by the Government in Victoria.

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

March 5, 1866.

I return you Mr. Chadwick's paper about telegraphs. You sent me, some weeks ago, a Memorial from a Scotch Chamber of Commerce, asking for a Commission on the same subject. I sent it to the Board of Trade, but they have done nothing, so far as I am aware. I am strongly of opinion that the subject should be dealt with by a Commission or a Parliamentary Committee (I should prefer the former), and I should think that Sir R. Hill and Mr. Chadwick would be useful members of such a Commission. At the same time, I ought to say that I can hardly deal impartially with this question, as, in 1853, I was the originator of the system of Government telegraph in Australia, now at work in connection with the Post-office over many thousand miles of wire, and with complete success both commercial and political.

On this Mr. Frank Scudamore² drew up a report on the advisability of the State acquiring the telegraphs on the lines of a scheme originally suggested by Mr. F. Baines, and the way was thus prepared for the Acts of 1868 and 1869. The former was brought in and passed by the Conservative Government in the session of 1868, and was entitled, An Act to enable Her Majesty's Postmaster General to acquire, work and maintain Electric Telegraphs.

Mr. MacGowan, the head of the Telegraph Department in Melbourne, wrote :—

¹ Sir Andrew (then Lieut.) Clarke had gone to Tasmania in 1848 as A.D.C. to the Governor, Sir William Denison.

² Second Secretary of the Post-office.

From Mr. MacGowan.

ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT, MELBOURNE,
November 9, 1868.

I have sent Mr. Scudamore my reports from 1864 to 1867, inclusive, together with a copy of a code of rules under which the service is conducted in Victoria, and, indeed, I may say the other colonies as well, as the practice in this colony has formed the basis, with slight modification, for the Telegraph Departments in South Australia, New South Wales, and Queensland. It must be source of much gratification to you that even although it has been left to your successors in office to develop the scheme you initiated in 1865-66, the result already bears a promise of success. The recollection of the prominent action adopted by you in this colony in 1853-54 may also probably be as gratifying to yourself as it is pleasing to me to remember.

Mr. MacGowan further wrote :—

MELBOURNE, *May 23, 1869.*

I am of opinion, so far as my knowledge of your present telegraph system may warrant my belief, that a considerable modification will be necessary in the working details of the various lines. The nearer an approach may be made to one uniform system of working, in the form of battery employed, in the mode of keeping accounts, the receipt and despatch of business, etc., the more satisfactory will be the result.

I feel some gratification in being able to inform you that the same uniformity of system introduced in this colony under your administration has been adopted by all the colonies on the mainland of Australia. New Zealand has adopted our instruments and to some extent our form of insulation, but in other respects the telegraphic arrangements in that colony are, I may safely say, behind those of Victoria.

In 1869, under Mr. Gladstone's first Government, a further Act was passed giving the Post Office the monopoly of telegraphic communication, and from that time the Postal Telegraph service has gone on and prospered.

Lord Palmerston died in October, 1865, and was succeeded by Lord Russell. Mr. Gladstone deemed it an

opportune moment to reorganize the Treasury, and the addition of a third secretary was one of the features of the plan; but a doubt was raised by the Premier whether a Member of Parliament could accept this office [as a new office created since the 6th Anne cannot be held with a seat in Parliament] without a special Bill being passed. Mr. Gladstone referred the question to Mr. Childers.

To Mr. Gladstone.

January 18, 1866.

When you first spoke to me about the proposed changes I looked into the question of the effect (of appointing a third secretary) on the seat in the House, and it appears to me thereby clear that it would not be vacated. Under the Act of Anne any one accepting an office of profit from the Crown (section 26) vacates his seat. But Secretaries of the Treasury do not vacate their seats;¹ therefore they do not accept offices of profit from the Crown. The words of the previous section (25) render ineligible to the House of Commons persons accepting a new office of profit *under* the Crown constituted since 1705. It has always been a doubtful question whether there is any difference between an office under the Crown or one accepted from the Crown; and when, in 1855, the fourth Secretary of State was appointed, the Act which passed empowering him to sit in Parliament recited that doubts existed whether the additional Under-Secretary (who beyond question is not under section 26 of the Act of Anne) could sit. But the case against the Under-Secretary of State was much stronger than against an additional Secretary to the Treasury. By an Act of 18 George II., excluding some additional officers from the

¹ The procedure on the appointment of a new Board is interesting. The new Board meet in the Board-room of the Treasury, and the Permanent Secretary reads over the Patent. The constitution of the Board is then complete, and the First Lord then directs that the new secretaries shall be called in; and on their coming into the Board-room the First Lord directs them to take their seats, and this action on the part of the Board constitutes them secretaries. This explains why the Secretaries of the Treasury are not re-elected on appointment, inasmuch as they are not appointed by the Crown, but by the Board.

House, an exception was made in favour of the Secretary to the Treasury, and the Under-Secretary to a Secretary of State, and by Burke's Act an additional Secretaryship of State was made a new office of profit, and it might have been thought that as to Under-Secretaries of State the case was conclusive, because the Acts of 1855 and 1859, which allowed three and four (respectively) to sit in the House, expressly excluded more, yet in Lord Hartington's case, though he was undoubtedly a fifth Under-Secretary, the Committee found that his seat was not vacated, and he sat accordingly to the end of the Parliament. The Indemnity Act relieved him from the penalties which he might incur for the breach of the Acts of 1855 and 1859. As, therefore, there is no Act limiting the number of Secretaries to the Treasury, I think there can be no doubt that, after the decision in Lord Hartington's case, the seat would not be vacated, and no penalty would be incurred. The "Vacating of Seats" Act, which passed in the same session, has reference only to offices, the number of persons holding which, and capable of sitting in the House, is expressly limited by the Act. I ought, at the same time, to remind you that the Report of the Committee as to the seat not being vacated was only carried by the vote of the chairman; and that in the Committee all the Opposition (except Sir W. Heathcote) voted against the Report. They also all voted (except Sir W. Heathcote and Mr. Hunt) in favour of a resolution that the seat was vacated.

Early in the session of 1866 Mr. Gladstone introduced the Reform Bill, a measure bitterly opposed by Mr. Lowe and the Whig seceders, christened by Mr. Bright the "Cave of Adullam."

During the debate on an amendment moved by Lord Grosvenor (the late Duke of Westminster) Mr. Maguire twitted Mr. Lowe with the support he had given to universal franchise in Australia in former days. In reply Mr. Lowe denied it, and in his speech said—

In the colonies they have got democratic assemblies, and what is the result? Why, responsible government becomes a curse instead of a blessing.

In Australia there is no greater evil to the stability of society, to industry, property, and the well-being of the country than the constant change which is taking place in the government.

What is taking place in the Australian colonies? Victoria and New South Wales are both governed by universal suffrage, and it is as much as we can do to prevent their going to war with each other.

Mr. Childers spoke the same evening. He replied to Mr. Lowe's statements as to Australia. He denied the statement of Mr. Marsh (M.P. for Salisbury) that corruption existed in politics in Victoria.

"That country," he said, "spent large sums on education, the colonies did not cost England a shilling for their defence, and had established an admirable Volunteer force."

He continued—

The Right Hon. Member for Calne (Mr. Lowe), it is said, has always been consistent.

On this great question of consistency, while I would be very tolerant of change, I think that hon. and right hon. gentlemen who change their opinions, ought to do so subject to two conditions; in the first place, they ought to be very frank and candid about them, not maintaining that they have always been consistent; and, secondly, they ought to be more tender and considerate to the feelings of those who do not happen to find it necessary, with the results of their experience, to change their opinions. Take, for instance, my right hon. friend (Mr. Lowe). He was so anxious to prove his consistency that he endeavoured to convince the House a few nights since that he had only advocated a ten pound suffrage in Australia. I will, however, quote a speech of his at Sydney.

"After the citizens of Sydney had done him the honour to elect him as their representative, he had stated that he should always be ready to seek for an extension of the franchise. He could not bring his mind to the belief that universal suffrage would be beneficial. They (the meeting) did not ask for universal suffrage, and in all that they did ask he most cordially agreed, for he thought their demands

were moderate. They did not even go so far as what was asked by their fellow countrymen at home.

"A great and growing feeling in favour of household suffrage was spreading in Great Britain, and was warmly advocated in Parliament by Hume and Cobden, and by many other Members of great weight and influence. When he was elected he told them he wished to see the working class powerful. If he thought that the franchise could enable the working classes to saddle any of their burdens on the necks of the people at large he would oppose it.

"He should say nothing about the effect of universal suffrage in France, although he could not agree that universal suffrage had altogether failed in France. The disasters which had befallen France had not arisen from universal suffrage. He wished to give all classes power, to make each dependent on the other, so that they might work together for the common good."

I hope the Right Hon. gentleman will not think that in quoting these sayings of his, I am doing him any injustice. The Right Hon. gentleman has quoted several speeches of statesmen in this country of many years ago; I do not think the Right Hon. gentleman in this respect does justice to himself, or to those from whom he now differs. Having in times past held very strong opinions, he now speaks of similar opinions held by the Hon. Member for Birmingham¹—I will not say with a sneer; that would be un-parliamentary. The Right Hon. gentleman never speaks with a sneer—but with derision."

Mr. Childers proceeded to deal with other arguments of Mr. Lowe, and with those of Lord Stanley and Sir Bulwer Lytton, and quoted some of the unfulfilled prophecies of the opponents of the Bill of 1832. He concluded—

The desire of the country is that the question shall be settled. What the country is prepared to accept now as a settlement of the question is a much more moderate measure than what may be acceptable at a future time. If cheerfully given now it will be as cheerfully accepted. But if the Bill is to be upset by a combination which must fall to pieces at the moment of victory, the country may

¹ Mr. Bright.

require at a future time a measure of a very different character to that now before the House.

The Hon. Baronet, the Member for Stamford (Sir Stafford Northcote) concluded his speech with a motto. He said, of the Reform Bill, "Sat cito sat bene"—a good old motto of Lord Eldon—which I will cap with another, and I hope the House will take it to heart, "Bis dat qui cito dat."

On the following night Lord Cranborne (now Lord Salisbury) and Mr. Disraeli spoke with great vigour and brilliancy against the Bill, and Mr. Gladstone wound up the debate in a memorable speech, perhaps the most remarkable even he ever delivered. The second reading was carried by a majority of five only.

Ayes	...	...	...	...	318
Noes	...	...	...	...	313
					<hr/>
Majority					5

To Mr. John Talbot.

May 10, 1866.

I have been so very busy these last few days as to have had really no time to answer your letter of the 1st. Many thanks for what you say about my speech. People have been very kind about it, but I confess I am not altogether satisfied myself, and instead of reminding Mr. Lowe of his revolutionary opinions in old days, I should have preferred answering more categorically some of his positions. I admit that good government is one, perhaps the greatest object of a representative system, but is not self-government as important in many respects? Have you not greater securities for national weal, in the end, if your government, however faulty, is based in general consent, and on the feelings of responsibility which the suffrage produces, than if artificial modes of representation are merely designed to induce the return to the Legislature of the best men? I look forward to storms in these times, and I would rather be at sea in a good broad-bottomed Dutchman than in a sharp, swift, fair-weather clipper, however good the sailing qualities. Pray look me up the next time you are in town.

The eloquence of Mr. Lowe and the defection of the Whigs were fatal to the Reform Bill; it survived the second reading, only to be killed in committee. On the 18th of June Ministers were defeated on the question of rental *versus* rating for Borough Franchise, raised by Lord Dunkellin, and on the 26th Lord Russell's Government resigned.

To Lord Clarence Paget.

July 2, 1866.

I have certainly used you very ill in not sooner writing to you, but I have been desperately hard at work, and the crisis does not give me much leisure. I will now do my best to make up for past omissions, though I shall probably be at my desk here later than any of the others will be. I am inclined to think it was for the best. They did not manage the actual thing on which they were beaten at all well. It was known on the Friday that the Tories would whip well for Dunkellin, and the Cabinet decided on Saturday to give an answer (as to its being a vital question), which unluckily was so vague as to do plenty of mischief and no good, so that until at the very end of the debate Gladstone intimated that they would not accept the amendment, no one felt sure that it was a case of stand or fall. We were accordingly beaten, but it is tolerably sure that if the announcement had been made at 8 p.m. instead of at 2 a.m. all would have gone right. However, this is a small matter really; nothing, in my opinion, would have got the Bill, even the Franchise clauses, through this year, and there must have come the moment when the choice between keeping their word and their places would have had to be made. Before I post this the new Government will probably have been formed. But at present everything is in the clouds. They are making great efforts at comprehension. This is your mail day, so I send you all the last news I know. I believe the list in the *Times* is correct as far as it goes, except that I doubt Lord J. Manners going to Ireland. The rumour is that Lord Naas¹ is to be called up and made Lord Lieutenant.

¹ He was made Chief Secretary; in 1868 he was appointed Viceroy of India. Assassinated while on a tour to the Andaman Islands in 1872.

Hunt,¹ I expect, succeeds me here, and Hay goes to your old berth, unless Carey consents to take office under Pakington. I suppose that Milne² is to be First Sea Lord, but I know nothing more about the Admiralty. There will be great difficulty in finding a Scotch and an Irish Lord here. I was at the Trinity House dinner yesterday, and I thought Gladstone looked very sad, though he cracked a joke at Gibson's³ expense with great effect. On Sunday I met Lowe at Phinn's,⁴ and I was surprised at his decided talk against the Tories, as such, but he is going fast towards them in other points besides reform; *e.g.* he is altogether against Italy and for Austria. You will be glad to know that we are very jolly at home, and not at all cut up by these misfortunes. We look forward to a pleasant holiday this autumn, and you must not be surprised if we drop down on you some time towards Christmas, as we have an old plan of going to Rome in November. I am just now looking out for some place for two or three months. My boy goes to sea next month; I hope he will do well at the examinations. Pray tell me all about you and yours, how you like your home, and how the children like Malta. If I can be of any use to you about your boy's school, pray command me. We have just settled the doctor's business with the War Office and Admiralty. The committee's report is to be carried out almost entirely, except that the Royal Navies will not start with the 12s. 6d. We are dreadfully angry with you for appointing that committee without first consulting us, and I think we might have saved the inspectorial increased salaries, which we have been obliged to give to the Army as well as to yourselves. I think I leave no questions open with the Admiralty, and not half a dozen with all the service, which is satisfactory. I am sorry your dockyard contracts are not yet out.

*To Mr. G. A. Hamilton.*⁵

July 3, 1866.

I have no news for you of any interest. It is not the

¹ George Ward Hunt, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868, and in 1874-77 First Lord of the Admiralty.

² Sir Alexander Milne.

³ Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson.

⁴ Tom Phinn was a well-known parliamentary and society character; he had been once Secretary to the Admiralty.

⁵ George Alexander Hamilton, unsuccessfully stood for Dublin in

case that Lord John Manners goes to Ireland; it will probably be Lord Abercorn.¹ I believe Hunt succeeds me, and it is rumoured Major Knox is to be Irish Lord. Hay is to be the Secretary to the Admiralty. Wilson is sending you the Distribution minute. Cole is rather distressed at Woods and Works being separated, and he suggests that the chest shall go to the first instead of the fifth division. I think we had better leave it as you and I have altered it, if you agree. I have written to Lord Russell about Barrington. The view is very unfavourable to Austria. I hope you are already the better for rest. They do not move the writs till Friday, so there will be plenty of time before you need think of coming back.

On the 6th of July he notes, "Sat for the first time on the Opposition front bench." The next day Mr. Childers met Mr. Disraeli at the Treasury, and as there was some delay in the completion of the new Board, owing to the difficulty of finding an Irish Lord, he was asked by Mr. Disraeli to continue informally to serve in his office, though under a Conservative administration. Such a novel request surprised him, and before consenting he thought it best to refer to his own chiefs. Lord Russell saw no objection, but to Mr. Gladstone's cautious mind it seemed that a precedent might be formed; it might be awkward, and there were reasons for it and against it. On the whole, however, he thought it might be better to accept, and accordingly Mr. Childers, though sitting at night on the front Opposition bench in the House of Commons, took part by day at the Treasury in the Conservative administration.

This curious state of affairs was the means of his acquiring the friendship and regard of Mr. Disraeli, and led

1826, 1830, 1832, and 1835; but on petition in 1835 the Commissioners gave him the seat; afterwards M.P. for Dublin University, 1843-59; Financial Secretary to Treasury, 1852 and 1858-59. In January, 1859, was made Permanent Secretary; Privy Councillor in 1869; died 1871.

¹ Afterwards created an Irish Duke.

to a proposal a little later on from that statesman that he should go to India as Finance Minister.

Mr. Disraeli, directly he entered office, consulted him as to the necessity for one of the Lords of the Treasury being an Irishman; but from Mr. Childers's reply it appears that there is no Act of Parliament on the subject, though, as a matter of fact, every Board since the Reform Bill had contained at least one Irishman.

To Mr. Disraeli.

July 7, 1866.

I can find nothing in any Act of Parliament as to the nationality of Lords of the Treasury. The English and Irish Treasuries were united in 1816. By the 14th section of 56 George, c. 98, the king was authorized to appoint two additional "persons" to be Lords, in consideration of the increase of business. I cannot find any case of a Board of Treasury containing no Irishman since the Reform Bill, but several when there was no member for an Irish constituency or a Scotch constituency. Colonel White was M.P. for Kidderminster, Lord H. Lennox for Chichester, in 1852 and 1858; Lord Monck for Portsmouth in 1855, Mr. C. Ross for Northampton in 1834. As to the private secretaries, I find that you set the precedent in 1858 of the Chancellor of the Exchequer having a second secretary, and that the minute recited the additional business in the House of Commons. You gave a salary of £150 to the second secretary, and Mr. Gladstone never gave more than £300 between his two secretaries. The *rule* is laid down in a minute of 1806, under which the First Lord and the Chancellor of the Exchequer only have one secretary each at £300. Lord Liverpool broke with this in 1813, by appointing a second at £300 a year, and I see no reason why any arrangement you think right should not be made.

To Mr. G. A. Hamilton.

July 10, 1866.

Still "no Irish lord." The Scotch lord is Sir Graham Montgomery. I have got through a great deal of the work with Mr. Hunt to-day, but I have nothing particular to tell you.

However, an Irish lord was eventually found, and, free at last, Mr. Childers went abroad for a holiday, returning home in time to see Leonard—now passed out of the *Britannia* as a midshipman—start in his first ship, the *Zealous*, to join the *Topaze* in the Pacific.

Before leaving the Treasury he left on record his views as to the wisdom of tampering with the constitution of the Treasury Board.

July 5, 1866.

Although I have only been for ten months at the Treasury I feel that I ought not to leave it without placing on record, for the information of my successor, the opinion which I have formed of the necessity of strengthening the department, and the manner in which I think this should be effected. When I came here I found some of the work in arrear; and although many entirely new questions have been taken up and worked out since, I think I leave no arrears. But this has been done at the expense, I hope not of the health, but of the comfort and leisure of many of the gentlemen in the department. In Mr. Hamilton's case, I know that he has seriously overworked his strength; and it would be much to be deplored if this state of things should continue.

There is no prospect of diminished work in the Treasury for some time. It is true that the operation of the Exchequer and Audit Act will, in perhaps two years, reduce the mere clerical work, and take away the audit business now done in the department; but meanwhile it will require much additional thought and labour to bring it into successful operation.

I doubt the wisdom of altering by legislation the constitution of the Board of Treasury, with a view to greater strength for financial work, unless it is to be superseded by a department (in the modern form) under a finance minister. It is dangerous to meddle with an ancient constitution, if it should only be proposed to substitute one fiction for another. But I think that it will be found desirable to continue the arrangements under which one of the lords takes a share of the financial business, under the Secretary, both in the department and Parliament. Where the office most requires strengthening is in the assistance to be given to the assistant secretary.

With the present amount of business it is impossible to give any additional duties permanently to either of the five principal officers ; and, even if it were possible, there would be many objections to constituting one of those officers, while managing a division, an assistant to the secretary.

I recommend that the assistant secretary be called Permanent Secretary, and that a new office of Assistant (Permanent) Secretary be constituted. I should regret to see the salary of the permanent secretary reduced ; and I think that of the assistant should be £1500, rising, after five years, to £1750.

After leaving office in 1866, Mr. Childers resumed some of his old work in the city at the London and County Bank, the Bank of Australasia, and the Royal Mail Company. He maintained his interest in Admiralty questions, and was consulted equally by both sides of the House on questions of dockyard administration.

From his Journal.

1867.

January 1.—Called on Mr. Seely¹ at his house. He proposes to give notice, early in the session, of a strong anti-Admiralty motion. At London and County Bank. Hamilton took his seat.

February 11.—At the House, 4.30 to 8. Disraeli spoke badly in giving notice of the Reform resolutions. I said a few words on Assessments, and printing Parliamentary Papers.

February 19.—At the Admiralty, Sir John Pakington wishing to see me about Seely's motion. At the Bank of Australasia, and the London and County Bank. At the House, 4.30 to 11. Spoke on Seely's motion. Very kindly spoken of on both sides about dockyard accounts.

February 27.—At the London and County Bank, and the Bank of Australasia. At the Royal Mail Board. At the House, 2.30 to 4. In the majority on the Oaths and

¹ Charles Seely, M.P. for Lincoln ; he took up the subject of Dockyard Reform.

Offices Bill.¹ At home with Lord J. Hay, Stansfeld, and Lefevre about Navy Estimates.

March 2.—At the Bank of Australasia. To Cheam with Emily to see our boys. Dined at Mrs. Albert Goldsmid's. At the Royal Society conversazione. At Lady Margaret Beaumont's.

Northcote told me at the Royal Society conversazione of the retirement of Cranborne, Peel, and Carnarvon ;² his own going to the India Office ; their resolution to propose household suffrage, and "something dualistic."³

March 4.—Agreed to become a director of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway.

July 17.—By special train at seven to Portsmouth. Went on board the *Black Eagle* and to the naval review. The weather so bad that the ironclads and line-of-battle ships did not get under way. Saw the Sultan⁴ and Viceroy⁵ go on board the Royal yacht ; the attack by the gunboats on the forts, etc.

July 18.—At the civic reception of the Sultan at Guildhall.

July 19.—At the ball at the India Office to the Sultan, etc. The finest sight of the kind I ever saw.

July 29.—Dined with the "Owls" at Richmond. Lord and Lady Wharncliffe, Lady Tankerville, Lord and Lady H. Scott, Mr. John Hugessen, Sir H. Wolff,⁶ Evelyn Ashley,⁷ M. Corry, Mr. and Mrs. DuCane, Colonel Clarke, etc.

August 30.—By train to Aberdeen ; walked about for an hour, and on to Aboyne. Found a cricket match going

¹ To enable Roman Catholics to hold certain high offices, *e.g.* the Lord Chancellorship.

² In consequence of the Government's Reform proposals.

³ Reform Bill, 1867. Lord Derby had proposed that a household paying 20s. annually of income or assessed taxes should have two votes, one as two years' resident, the other as a contributor to the wants of the State. The proposal was abandoned.

⁴ Abdul Aziz.

⁵ The Khedive Ismail.

⁶ Afterwards M.P. for Christchurch and Portsmouth.

⁷ Now the Right Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

on, the Huntly party against the neighbourhood. Drove to Ballogie to dinner, and came in the evening to a dance. All the countryside there. Very merry.

August 31.—Highland games at Aboyne. Lunched at the Castle.

September 2.—By train from Aboyne to Ballater. Took a carriage and drove to Balmoral, where Mr. Duckworth, Prince Leopold's tutor, met us at the bridge. Drove some way up the river, lunched, and returned by the other side.

September 3.—Shooting all day.

September 4.—Left Ballogie, and by a 10 o'clock train to Aberdeen. Drove to Old Aberdeen, Marischal College, Pier, etc.

September 9.—Shooting all day on the "Craggs." Birds wild.

September 10.—Left Pitnacree soon after 7, and got to Edinburgh at 12. Drove about the town, and by the 4.20 train to Edrom and Manderstone. Found Canon and Mrs. Heaviside (Norwich), and some young people.

September 13.—Left Manderstone after breakfast, and by railway from Dunse to Carlisle (fine pass of the Cheviots), Penrith, and by carriage to Patterdale, arriving about 4. Very pretty.

September 16.—Drove at 7 from Patterdale to Windermere Station over Kirkstone Pass. By the 9.15 train to Euston.

November 25.—The "Owls" dined with us. Lord and Lady Wharnccliffe, Colonel and Mrs. Clarke, E. Ashley, Stuart Wortley, Colonel Keane, Sir H. Wolff, DuCane, Hugessen, Borthwick.¹ Very merry and late.

"The Owls" was the name of a very select social coterie in the late sixties. Its publication, *The Owl*, was the only paper published at its own time and periods; in the season, of course, but suspending its issue at the whim

¹ Mr. Algernon Borthwick, successively M.P. for Evesham and South Kensington; now Lord Glenesk.

of the originators if they cared to go holiday making. This never diminished its sale, which ever went on increasing.

Lord Glenesk writes :—

“ It seems but yesterday your father was dining with the Owls, and the Owls with him. The Owls had no title of club; when the members dined together on Mondays it was always at different clubs or private houses. The dinners were meetings at which contributions were read out, criticized, and improved, and the members at the dinners varied from ten to twenty-four or more. The original Owls were myself, Stuart Wortley, Evelyn Ashley, Lord Wharncliffe, and Lochiel. I had the honour to be the Chief Bird, and all accepted my rulings. Oliphant¹ was with us the first year; others were off and on, such as Wolff² and many more; Lord Brabourne, Sir Henry Bulwer,³ etc. It was a social institution; and, like its namesake, did not mix with others which were, and are, essentially different. No one can describe the mirth of the dinners and the happiness of Owl nights. The profits were all devoted to amusement. It was a great success, and only stopped when all the members became too busy to give the time and care demanded for carrying it on.”

A striking tribute to Mr. Childers's industry and ability was rendered at this time, when he was appealed to successively by Lord Chelmsford and Lord Cairns to represent them on the Commission for the reform of the Courts of Law.

Sir Roundell Palmer⁴ had obtained during the session this year (1867), from Mr. Disraeli, the issue of a commission of inquiry into the operation and effect of the constitution of all the superior Courts of Law, “with a view of finding what changes and improvements might be advantageously made, so as to provide for the more speedy, economical,

¹ Laurence Oliphant, author of “*Piccadilly*,” “*Altiora Peto*,” etc.

² Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, M.P.

³ Ambassador at Constantinople; afterwards Lord Dalling.

⁴ Afterwards Lord Chancellor and Earl of Selborne.

and satisfactory despatch of the judicial business now transacted," and a Royal Commission was appointed, including the Lord Chancellor and most of the Judges, with whom were associated Mr. Childers and Mr. Ward Hunt. The Lord Chancellor was seldom able to attend, and during Lord Derby's Administration Mr. Childers had acted for Lord Chelmsford. In March, 1868, his services in a similar capacity were sought by the new Lord Chancellor.

From Lord Cairns.

5, CROMWELL HOUSES, *March 2, 1868.*

You were so good, I know, during the time that Lord Chelmsford was Chancellor, as to take an active interest in the Courts of Law Commission, and to represent him at the meetings of the Board. I trust I am not presuming too much in expressing a hope that you may be induced to perform the same kind office on my behalf. It would be a great source of satisfaction to myself personally, and no other arrangement could be so advantageous to the public service.

That a comparatively young man, not a lawyer, should have been so appealed to by two Lord Chancellors, was a compliment which might have flattered many an older public man.

Having consented to act, he did so with characteristic energy. His attention was devoted especially to the financial aspects of the subject, and later on he submitted certain definite proposals for the more economical administration of justice. The exact nature of these proposals can only be conjectured; but it is evident from the answer of the Chancellor, to whom they were addressed, that they aimed at reducing materially the expenses of the Judicature. Lord Hatherley's reply is interesting, as showing how entirely unexpected by him was the offer of the Woolsack on Mr. Gladstone's accession to power.

From Lord Hatherley (Lord Chancellor).

31, GREAT GEORGE STREET, S.W., *March 2, 1869.*

Whether your vigorous hand could prune us down to your figure I do not know, but I am sure much might be done.

I will turn over your proposition as soon as our first report is out. We must finish that at once. If I had had but the slightest notion before December last that I should ever be Chancellor, I would have worked in the long vacation at two or three points; Patent Law, Marriage Law, Bankruptcy Law, Charity Law (frightful waste in this), were all pressing subjects. But I had no thought of my voice ever reaching beyond Lincoln's Inn.¹

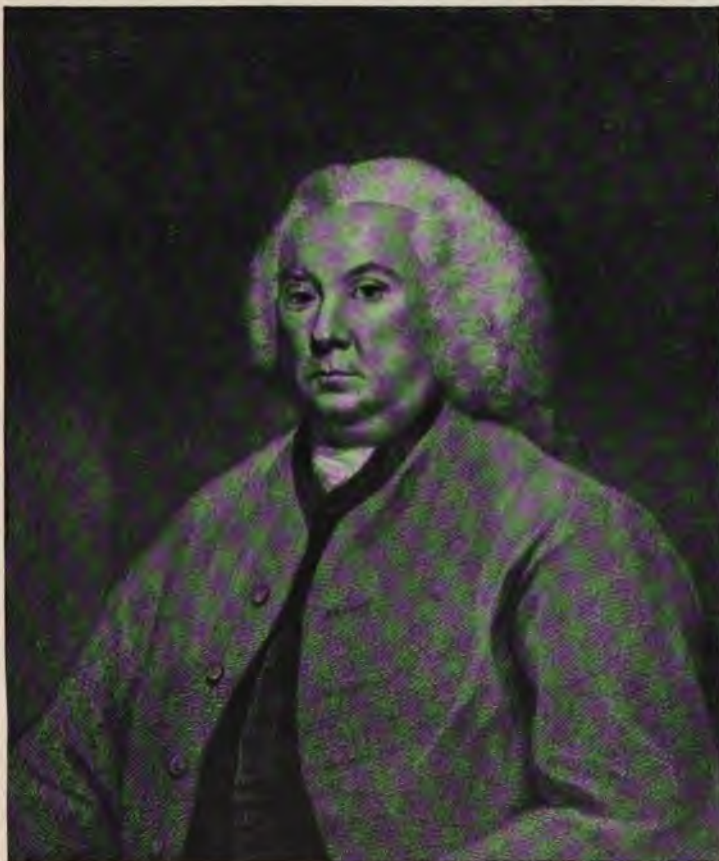
Now I have been in office twelve weeks, and have been sitting in Court or the House of Lords during nine of them, and during another week (at different times) on the Irish Bill. I have heard every cause ready to be heard in the Appeal Court in Chancery, and we are making way with the House of Lords appeals, but with all this Bankruptcy has literally been the most I could attend to, and it has been hard work from my losing Thring² owing to the Irish Church Bill. I see, therefore, little probability of my doing anything serious in the way of probing the Judicature expenses at present, for I can only at intervals attend the Commission.

The question of establishing Tribunals of Commerce was added to the scope of inquiry, and Mr. Childers presided at the meetings of the Commission, which, after obtaining information from many witnesses—consuls, bankers, merchants, and lawyers—recommended that it was not expedient to establish Tribunals of Commerce in which commercial men were to be judges; but that the Judge in commercial cases might be assisted by two skilled assessors, who could advise him in technical and practical matters.

The reports of this Commission gave rise to the long series of Acts of Parliament which united the superior

¹ He had been Vice-Chancellor and Lord Justice.

² Sir Henry Thring, Parliamentary Draftsman; now Lord Thring.



THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN EARDLEY WILMOT, KNT.,
LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS.

After Sir J. Reynolds, P.R.A.

[To face p. 148, Vol. I.]

Courts into one Supreme Court of Judicature, divided into a High Court of Justice and Court of Appeal, the principal Act (that of 1873) being usually cited as having "fused" law and equity.

November 21.—I waited on Sir Stafford Northcote, by appointment, on Great Indian Peninsular Railway business (I am chairman of the company). When I had discussed it with him, I told him that, as he had heard, I intended to go out to India next autumn. He asked me if I would go out "for us" sooner? Said that Massey¹ was coming home in March, and that he hoped I would consent to take his office. He added that, on hearing from him that he proposed returning, he (Sir S. N.) wrote hoping that, if his premature retirement was caused by any idea of want of confidence, he would remain. But he (Sir S. N.) had no idea that he would alter his determination. I replied that his proposal took me by surprise. That some years ago I had a dream about going to India, but that I should be obliged to leave all my children at home. Besides, what would his party say to the selection of a political opponent? He answered that I need not think there would be any objection on that score; that Disraeli and Stanley had both expressed a wish that I should be appointed; that he knew no other public man fit for the office. I said what will Gladstone say? It ended in my asking time to consider.

November 22.—After much consideration I decide on an answer, not accepting.

November 23.—Saw Gladstone. Told him what had occurred, and that I had decided not to accept. He said that, not knowing my private and family affairs, he should have hesitated to advise, but that he entirely and decidedly approved of my decision.

January 7, 1868.—I received Northcote's formal offer.

January 15.—Wrote to Northcote declining the Indian office.

¹ William Nathaniel Massey, M.P. for Salford till 1863; then appointed Financial Member of Council in India.

*From Lord Cranworth.*¹

HOLWOOD, BROMLEY, KENT, *January 16, 1868.*

I *believe* you have taken the wisest course. But to a man like yourself, with a large family and limited means, there were so many reasons of a personal nature in favour of acceptance, that I was very unwilling to say anything which might influence you in a contrary direction.

You might, I think, have become Indian Finance Secretary with perfect honour; but you would always have had to explain and justify such a step.

I hope that ere very long you may find yourself in a position personally and politically more to your taste.

I could not refrain from mentioning the matter to Lady Cranworth, and she most strongly approves the decision you have come to.

I have shown this letter to my wife, who is very angry with me for not calling you "Hugh," as she does, so for the future you must expect to be so addressed.

February 11.—Pressed to take the chair of a telegraph company from France to New York; and renewed offer of chair of Reuter's Telegram Company.

February 24.—Dined with the "Owls" at the Garrick. Mr. Borthwick, M. Corry,² Clarke, Stuart Wortley, E. Ashley, Calcraft.

March 22.—With Emily to the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. Heard a wonderful sermon from Dr. Magee. Dined with the Halifaxes³ to talk over the Irish Church resolution.

This was the year of Mr. Disraeli's accession to the Premiership; Mr. Gladstone at once flung down the gage with the Irish Disestablishment resolutions; and, the day after their passing, Mr. Childers sent to Dr. Magee (then Dean of Cork) a memorandum of his proposals for dealing with the Irish Church.

¹ Lord Cranworth, late Lord Chancellor, and Sir Culling Eardley had married sisters.

² Now Lord Rowton.

³ Sir Charles Wood had in 1866 been created Viscount Halifax.

To the Dean of Cork.

17, PRINCES GARDENS, April 4, 1868.

I send you the confidential memorandum I promised you on Thursday. It is, of course, my own, and I shall not mention it to any one until I hear from you whether it would be likely to be acceptable to Liberal Irish Churchmen. The majority last night is, I think, decisive as to disestablishment. But the tendency on our side of the House, to a generous financial arrangement, was unmistakably expressed.

Memorandum.

Mr. Gladstone's proposal is that the churches, parsonages (and land belonging to them), valued at £2,500,000, should be retained by the Church; that the value of the advowsons in private (Protestant) patronage should be paid by the State to the patrons; and that the life interests of all persons now deriving income from the Church, whether bishops, deans and chapters, incumbents, curates, or lay officers, should be preserved, their stipends being paid without deductions. It is roughly estimated that, at the present time, these incomes are about £600,000 a year.

Taking the average age of the recipients to be forty-five, and calculating interest at three and a half per cent., £600,000 a year will now be worth fifteen years' purchase, or £9,000,000 (vide Willich's Tables, iv. p. 6). It is suggested that, instead of the State allowing the present lives to die out, and then appropriating the revenues of the sees and benefices, the latter should at once be transferred to the Government. That in the Act severing the connection of Church and State, powers should be given to the former to constitute a Commission, in which power of dealing with the finance of the Church should be vested.

That to this Commission should be paid over the present value of the life interests (say £9,000,000), with power of investment, the existing life incomes being the first charge on income and capital.

That (subject to such Episcopal or other consent as may be requisite) the Commission should be empowered to buy out any existing life interests for a sum down, not being more than one-half or two-thirds (?) of its value, the difference going to the fund for Church endowments.

That (with similar consents) the Commission be empowered to sell parsonages, etc., where the paucity of Protestant population renders it inexpedient to maintain a settled incumbent. Assuming that the £9,000,000 would be invested at four per cent., and that the offer of two-thirds of the present value of a living would be generally accepted, above £3,000,000 would remain to the Church for future endowments. It is probable that this would be considerably augmented by sales of parsonages in the south and west; and, altogether, perhaps £150,000 a year would be saved.

This might be further increased as follows. Assuming that the State would be able to obtain twenty-five years' purchase for the Church revenues, or £16,000,000, she would gain £6000 or so (?) by the operation. In accepting £9,000,000 in lieu of her present income, the Church would do well to abandon altogether the demand, so often made, that the whole of the present revenues should be devoted to religious purposes. She might, however, insist that the balance should be applied in relief of local burdens. If, for instance, this balance, say £200,000 a year, was paid back by the Government in reduction, rateably (?) all over Ireland, of poor rates, almost the whole would ultimately benefit the landlords, nine-tenths of whom are Protestants.

The Church would then have a strong claim on them for aid in establishing a new system of private endowment. In this way, probably £100,000 a year would soon be obtained.

Thus it may fairly be estimated that, in a few years after her severance from the State, the Irish Church would enjoy an endowment (uncontrolled by Government) of £250,000, or about ten shillings per head of her population. Taking the Church population of England and Wales at 12,000,000 souls, this is a higher endowment than that of the English Church, estimated at £5,500,000.

April 4, 1868.

From the Dean of Cork.

THE CASTLE, DUBLIN, *April 8, 1868.*

I have just received your memorandum, and have read it with great interest.

It seems to me to contain the elements of the best

compromise now attainable for the Irish Church, and which, in my judgment, Irish Liberal Churchmen would, and ought to assent to.

I shall have an opportunity of conferring with some of your ablest Churchmen (who are, I know, disposed for a compromise) this evening. I hope, in the course of this week, to confer with others, and will communicate to you their views.

Meanwhile, pray accept my best thanks for the kindness you have done us in drawing up your memorandum. I need not say that I shall regard the fact of your authorship of it as strictly confidential.

From the Dean of Cork.

DUBLIN CASTLE, *April 22, 1868.*

I have delayed replying to your letter enclosing the confidential memorandum you were kind enough to send me, until I should have gathered the views of leading Liberal Churchmen upon it. I have taken some pains to do so.

I believe I am right in saying that, in the *principle* of the memorandum, most of those to whom I have spoken agree, *i.e.*—

1. We all agree that disestablishment is now inevitable.
2. That the necessary corollary from disestablishment is *absolute* self-government. On this point the feeling is strong and universal. The injustice of the State retaining *any* of the advantages or powers arising to it from an Establishment while depriving the Church of *all* the advantages accruing to it would be intolerable.
3. That the only fair way of dealing with life interests is by capitalizing them.
4. That nothing could be more unfair to individuals, or more fatal to the spiritual life of the Church, than the condition at first proposed by Mr. Gladstone—that each clergyman should retain his life income on condition of his remaining where he now is until the day of his death.

This would be to deprive us of all power of reforming our own Church. It would be a perpetuation by Act of Parliament of all those scandals and abuses on account of which (in part at least) our abolition is insisted on. The most malignant enemy of our Church (and we do not so regard Mr. Gladstone) could not devise a more ingenious plan for killing Protestantism by inches than

this. We are therefore all agreed that some plan for liberating such clergy as wish to be liberated from their present engagements should form an essential part of any Act disestablishing the Irish Church.

5. We all feel that, in justice, time should be given to the Irish Church to adapt herself to the state of things. It should be remembered that for three hundred years the State has kept us in the strictest bondage, refusing us any kind of self-government. It now most suddenly calls upon us to govern ourselves. We have all our machinery of government and finance to arrange at once. This is unfair. Once the disestablishment is accepted by the Irish Church, time should be given us to construct the Church of the future.

6. Upon the question of Endowments there is considerable difference of opinion. Some think that we ought to obtain more liberal terms than merely our vested interests, and that from one to three millions should be given as a *solatium victis* to our Sustentation Fund. Certainly any sum, even one million, so given, would greatly help to soothe irritated feelings and disarm opposition.

Others of us think—and I confess that I do—that however desirable, and even equitable, such a grant might be, yet that it would involve such demands for like grants to Roman Catholics and Presbyterian Churches as would swallow up all the surplus, and leave no more for that bonus to the landlords which in some shape or other will, I suspect, have to be given in the end.

These are the opinions of the most leading and moderate Churchmen here.

The county clergy and laity are still confident of victory, and all for a no-surrender policy. The progress of events will, however, "educate" them rapidly. I enclose you two papers on your memorandum. That marked "A" is by the Archdeacon of Meath; one of the ablest and best informed of our clergymen. That marked "B" is by the Dean of Cashel,¹ a man of great ability and very clear and calm judgment.

If you could spare time to read them—especially the former—they would well repay the trouble. I should be glad if it were possible that Mr. Gladstone could read them too.

¹ John Cotter MacDonnell. The next note is from his life of Magee.

In October, 1868, Dean Magee was appointed to the See of Peterborough;¹ and on the 22nd of January, 1869, he wrote to the Dean of Cashel:—

I have proposed to Childers an interview on Monday next. Could you send me a brief memorandum that I could leave with him, setting out the points that moderate men think ought to be conceded? The real fact, I suspect, is this. The Government want to deal generously, if they dare or can, and want help against their own extreme men. The moderate party in Ireland can give them valuable help. But who is to guarantee the good terms of surrender which Childers and Earl Spencer talk of? We are in the position of a part of a garrison besieged by an enemy—half regular, half savages. Is Gladstone strong enough to keep his savages from scalping us if we once lay down our arms? On the other hand, he may say: "Are you strong enough to ensure me the surrender of the fortress if I disband or disarm my savages?" Here seems the real pinch of the matter. Neither side can guarantee its arrangements. But unhappily this is our weak point even more than his. We represent only ourselves. Send me back Childers's note by return of post.

January 29, 1869.—I had a long talk with Childers on Monday evening last, and left with him your memorandum.

¹ He had wished to return to England, and had written to ask the Premier, when filling the Deanery of St. Paul's, to give him one of the appointments which might so become vacant; he did not dream of the Deanery itself. Mr. Disraeli replied: "I regret that I cannot comply with your request, for I felt it my duty to recommend her Majesty to nominate you, if agreeable to yourself, to the vacant See of Peterborough."

On the 29th of January, 1869, he wrote to the Dean of Cashel: "Oddly enough, I am asked to the Marquis of Exeter's next Tuesday at Burghley House to meet Disraeli, and at the same time I have had an intimation that Gladstone is willing to confer with me. The former invitation I have accepted, and my wife and I go to Stamford accordingly next week. As to the latter I hesitate. It is a delicate matter to hold a confidential conference with a man whom you must shortly after oppose tooth and nail in public. It would be all but impossible for me to know in private Gladstone's mind and not to know it in public. The position would be most embarrassing, while, on the other hand, I can approach Gladstone through Childers and Bruce without this awkwardness. Advise me on this."

He is clearly with us on all points ; especially the freedom of the future Church. The point on which they are mostly pressed is that of glebe houses and churches. The Roman Catholics are making a fierce fight for them. Childers's idea is that we should have them. In fact, he sticks to his programme of last year. He thinks that the Archbishop of Canterbury¹ might act as umpire and negotiator. The idea is not bad. But I fear that A. C. Cantuar leans too much to the Erastian side of the question.

April 17, 1869.—I had a short talk with Childers the other evening about the Bill. He was quite amazed when I told him that one of the things I was most indignant against in the Bill was the date of 1660 for private endowments, and told me that a much later date had been contended for. What date? Not 1688—only twenty-eight years later—surely ; and, if not that, what between it and the Union?²

But before these interviews with Bishop Magee great events had been happening. Mr. Disraeli held on during the remainder of the session of 1868, though in a minority, and dissolved in the autumn. The election, fought on the Irish Church question, was keenly contested. Mr. Childers kept his seat at Pontefract, and was able to find time to help his Whip (Mr. Brand) in Cambridgeshire.

From Mr. Brand.

THE HOO, WELWYN, *November 22, 1868.*

Your presence at the poll on Tuesday (early) will be of great value, for the upper crust of Whittlesey town³ is against us, and they rather sit upon the small voters ; your presence will counteract their knavish tricks.

There is one burgess, a fanatic parson, who preaches against us weekly.

¹ Dr. Tait.

² "Life of Archbishop Magee," by J. C. MacDonell, sometime Dean of Cashel. 1896.

³ This was where in the 18th century Sampson Gideon had bought much Fen property (see p. 3), and Mr. Walbanke Childers, who ultimately inherited some of it, had himself sat for Cambridgeshire.

Matters look well, and if we can poll our promises, allowing a discount of 10 per cent., we win easy.

You are a good fellow to visit the Fens on my behalf. I wish you joy of your return.

The Disraelites are routed, but we have some severe losses amongst the killed on our side. I have asked G. and F. Fitzwilliam to attend the poll at four on Tuesday, but probably they will be wanted in Yorkshire.

The Liberals were returned with a majority of 115, and Mr. Disraeli at once resigned. On the 9th of December Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister for the first time, and Mr. Childers kissed hands as First Lord of the Admiralty, attaining thus one of the highest offices of the State at the early age of 41.

From Viscount Halifax.

HICKLETON, December 5, 1868.

I am very glad to hear that you are to have the Admiralty. You have well earned the post. I need hardly say that if ever I can be of any use to you, my services are at your command.¹

I suppose that we shall know about Tuesday the principal matters to be settled.

Does Bright take office or not?² That is the first question.

I shall be grateful for an account of how things go on.

From Lord Clarence Paget.

MALTA, December 15, 1868.

My very earnest congratulations to you, and to the Navy, in having you at its head.

I only hope that the reports be true that Arthur Otway³ is your secretary, because a more honest and right-minded man does not exist; and he has the further advantage you eminently possess, of a very agreeable manner.

¹ He had been himself at different times Secretary to, and First Lord of the Admiralty.

² Mr. Bright became President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. Lowe (his former antagonist) Chancellor of the Exchequer.

³ Now Sir Arthur Otway.

The old naval salts will think the Service quite gone to the dogs when people receive kind words from the head of the department.

Do not mind if in semi-private letters on Service subjects I address you as Mr. Childers; but for the next three or four months you are my chief, and it is more respectful. I shall quit this command with regret, for I am much attached to this squadron, who are worthy of their country; but three years is enough of anything here below.

My lady's kind regards and congratulations.

To Lord Clarence Paget.

ADMIRALTY, December 28, 1868.

Many thanks for your kind congratulations. Our letters will have crossed. I wrote to you as soon as I was pretty clear about my plans, and hope to hear soon what you think of them. Since then I have been very busy on the details of the new arrangements, and I think they will work well; but I am still without Baxter,¹ who is not well—so much falls on me.

I should have much liked Otway (indeed, no one more) as secretary, but, for his own comfort, I think the M.P. for Chatham will be better away from dockyard business. He has a far greater field at the Foreign Office—his chief² being in the other House. I hear his appointment is very popular with the diplomats.

Pray write to me any way you think best. I shall perfectly understand why. I look to you for a great deal of advice, both as to efficiency and economy; and, as we know each other's ways, I feel sure I shall get it in the most practical form. My wife joins me in kind regards to Lady Clarence.

From Mr. Baillie Cochrane.³

CADLANDS, SOUTHAMPTON, December 27, 1868.

You must allow me to congratulate you most heartily on your great success, for not only do you fill a most

¹ Right Hon. W. E. Baxter.

² Earl of Clarendon.

³ Afterwards Lord Lamington; said to have been the original of "Buckhurst" in "Coningsby."

important and pleasant post, but you fill it with the approval of all.

I know from my Naval relations that your appointment is very popular with the Service.

It is, however, a great blow to the "Nest," and I fear the "Owl" will never survive its losses.

Had Disraeli remained a few days longer in office, I might have asked you for a ship to take me to the Cape, for I was offered the Governorship of that Colony, with a Privy Councillorship, just before he threw up the sponge.

To Mr. Baillie Cochrane.

BEDWELL PARK, *December 28, 1868.*

Very many thanks for your kind congratulations. I look forward to very hard work, and plenty of hard names; but I shall do my best. I am sincerely sorry that you are not in the House, and I hope you will find a constituency before long. Certainly you should have gone to the Cape with all honour, had it rested with me; but, after all, was it worth your while to worry yourself with Dutchmen and Caffirs?

I hope to be at the first "Owl" dinner, though, I suppose, it must be my last just now. Mind and come.

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY.

1868-1871.

The Board of Admiralty—Naval Reserve and Flying Squadron—Retirement Scheme and Order in Council—Beards in the Navy—The Loss of H.M.S. *Captain*—Sir Spencer Robinson—Ill-health and Resignation.

MR. CHILDERS did not go to the Admiralty without some experience of the working of that department, nor without a very clear idea of what was, in his opinion, required to improve the Naval service and the Office in Whitehall. In 1864-65 he had served as Junior Lord under the Duke of Somerset, and had taken a very active part in inaugurating the reform of the system of dockyard management. When, therefore, he accepted the office of First Lord, he was already well acquainted with the administration of the Navy; he felt no hesitation whatever as to the first step necessary, nor was there any mystification about his general policy. Addressing his constituents after his acceptance of office, he said :—

“I shall endeavour to the utmost to put or continue the Navy of England in the state in which the country expects the Navy to be, the Navy being her especial pride, her first protection in the event of foreign difficulties, and I shall be the last, from false motives of economy, or from any other causes, to allow our Navy to fall below the standard at which it ought to be; but I shall do all in my power to lop off those excrescences and redundances of administration which, in my opinion, are sources of weakness rather than of strength. What

we want is a strong Navy—a Navy in which the appliances should be the best that can be obtained from the improvements effected by modern science—appliances placed in the hands of men thoroughly trained and disciplined—and this, I believe, can be effected without interfering with reforms in the administration, leading to such economy and reduction of the public burdens as would be satisfactory to the taxpayers of England.”

Here was a perfectly clear and distinct policy—the efficiency of the Navy was not to suffer, while the public burden was to be substantially reduced. To carry out his reforms he considered it necessary to effect such a change in the constitution of the governing body of the Navy as would give the First Lord a more direct responsibility.

“I have accepted office,” he said, on his re-election, “on the clear understanding that the responsibility should be placed distinctly on myself, as the Minister responsible to the Crown and country for carrying out the public wishes; and those who are associated with me at the Board of Admiralty fully recognize this fact, and will, while I am in office, perform their share of the departmental administration in direct subordination to myself.”

Since the time of Sir James Graham,¹ the Board of Admiralty had consisted of six members, who among them managed the *personnel* and supervised the *matériel*; but the work of the dockyards was conducted outside the Board, by the Controller of the Navy, much of whose time was taken up with the farce of writing submissions to his nominal superiors.

There were those who contended that the existence of the Board was useless, and who advised the substitution of a Minister of Marine; but to the abolition of the Board and the substitution of a Secretary of State, Mr. Childers expressed a view distinctly adverse. What he did think advisable was to seat the Controller at the Board, and to

¹First Lord, 1830-1834; 1852-1855.

give him the control of the *matériel* of the Navy, putting the *personnel* in charge of one of the Junior Lords, and giving the Secretary control over the finances.

This plan he proceeded to carry out at once. Instead of the old system of four Naval Lords and one Civil Lord, with a joint responsibility, the Board was in future to consist of three working members, each in charge of a separate department, with a responsible civilian at their head, holding the same relation to them as the Minister of War at that time held to the Horse Guards.

The First Sea Lord, with the assistance of the Junior Sea Lord, was to have superintendence of the fleet and men; the Controller of the Navy (not hitherto a member of the Board) joined it as Second Sea Lord, and took charge of *matériel*, while the financial responsibility, hitherto scattered over various departments, was collected under the Secretary of the Admiralty—the First and Second Sea Lords to be directly responsible to the First Lord.

These changes took place at once. Vice-Admirals Sir Sydney Dacres and Sir Spencer Robinson were appointed First Sea Lord and Controller respectively, while Captain Lord John Hay became Third Sea Lord, and Mr. (now Sir George) Trevelyan, M.P., became Civil Lord.

The programme of reform which Mr. Childers had drawn up was more extensive than anything hitherto attempted at the Admiralty. At the commencement of his Journal for 1869 is entered :—

I was re-elected for Pontefract on the 21st, and read in at the Admiralty on the 22nd of December. I have formed plans for economy, etc., which I state here, and I shall be curious to see the result.

Then followed a list of various reforms in men, victualling, Admiralty Office, reserves, dockyards, hospitals, stores,

works, the non-effective list, promotion and retirement, building of monitors,¹ calling in distant squadrons (as proposed in 1867), hospitality to naval officers at Whitehall, etc., etc.

While the lopping off of the "excrescences and redundances" was put in hand by reducing superfluous establishments and useless harbour ships, the expenditure for ship-building was largely increased: new turret ships were to be commenced at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Pembroke; and when, on the 8th of March (1869), the Navy Estimates were introduced, it was found that although they showed a reduction of a million on the previous year, Mr. Childers's policy with regard to the fleets and to ship-building was one of great advancement and progress.

"When the shipbuilding programme for the year is carried out," he wrote, "we shall have 47 armoured vessels afloat, with 598 guns; these, with 66 efficient unarmoured ships and a large number of vessels of the old type, will give us a navy stronger than that of any other nation."

In 1869 England had a grand total of forty-seven and France fifty-one ironclads, some of which were under construction, but the tonnage and thickness of armour on such ships as the *Hercules*, *Sultan*, *Devastation*, *Hotspur*, and *Rupert*, then being built, were greater than in any French ships. Mr. Childers considered that we should annually build between 19,000 and 20,000 tons, 12,000 of these being armoured and 7500 unarmoured, and he decided that about three-fourths of these were to be built in the dockyards, the rest by contract. At that time the tonnage of an ironclad was about 4000 tons, and this programme would give about three new ironclads, one frigate, one corvette, and six small vessels annually. If an ironclad lasted twenty years, he calculated that this rule, if adhered to, would produce and keep up a force

¹ *I.e.* turret ships.

of from fifty to sixty ironclads; but, unfortunately, it was departed from. In 1875 there was no new work on ironclads; great fluctuations in the proportion of armoured to unarmoured ships occurred, and no steady rate of building was maintained. Many years later Lord Charles Beresford wrote on this very point:—

From Captain Lord Charles Beresford, R.N.

H.M.S. "UNDAUNTED," MEDITERRANEAN, October 27, 1892.

I am making out a definite policy of defence, which, to be perfect and understandable, must enter into many details. The most important is that which is connected with the principle that should guide the ship-building vote. I remember that you laid down a principle—I think it was in 1884—which to my mind combined thoroughly business-like proceedings with a steady yearly increase to the Fleet. Sir George Tryon, who knew your proposals well, tells me that the idea was to lay down two battleships each year, so that as time went on there were two battleships added to the fleet, plus one a quarter, one a half, and one three-quarters on the way to finality. This, of course, on the presumption that it takes four years to build a battleship. If that was your programme, we should certainly be better off now than we are, even after our Naval Defence Act for twenty millions to be spent on seventy ships. When I first started my agitation for ships to be added to the fleet, at a cost of twenty millions, my sole basis was the capability of the country for production. I found by personal inspection that only seventy-four ships could possibly be taken in hand at the time, using all available yards, naval and mercantile; it would have been unwise at the moment to have pointed out the weak points connected with spasmodic ship-building, particularly connected with a heavy programme; notably the fact of the whole number becoming old and obsolete at the same moment, and the regrettable necessity of having to discharge large numbers of skilled artificers in the zenith of their perfection, instead of keeping them on, soberly and quietly adding ships yearly to the strength of the fleet.

It will be very kind if you will tell me what your idea and programme was. It would help me tremendously in

my argument for having a ship-building programme based on common-sense and business-like lines.

I am going to hammer away with facts showing how true is the finding of the Hartington Commission and the great danger we invite through not organizing the forces we at present possess. We should lose far more at the commencement of hostilities by the want of organization than we should by the numerical inferiority of our numbers.

To Lord Charles Beresford.

6, ST. GEORGE'S PLACE, HYDE PARK CORNER,

November 1, 1892.

I have your letter from *Undaunted* of the 27th of October. I answer your questions with much pleasure.

My view has been for many years that our true ship-building policy would be to make the work as nearly equal as possible from year to year, by commencing two or three battleships every year and finishing them as quickly as possible, never allowing the work to be delayed by alterations in design proposed during construction, but making sure that as each additional ship is commenced, she should be of the newest possible type.

I do not pronounce here as between two, two and a half, or three a year. I have not the materials for judgment. But I think that we ought to be always a little ahead of our requirements.

We should avoid both the British fault of doing things by fits and starts, and the French fault of having a plan for a long series of years, which becomes obsolete before half the ships are built. Twice, I think, the French have found themselves in ship-building difficulties through want of elasticity, and our sudden increases in men and work, let down again after two or three years, are endless. It is not in the least necessary to break through the golden rule of finance, only to vote in each year the necessary supplies, if some such system as I suggest is laid down and loyally followed by successive Ministers. There is nothing so mischievous as constant variations in the number of dockyard men, and in this respect the French do much better than we do.

I believe that I entirely agree with you about Lord

Hartington's report. But I suppose that the main difficulties in the way of adopting it are *personal*. No part of my evidence has, I believe, been published.

Mr. Childers found, on taking office, that the country was paying a heavy annual charge for ships unfit for fighting, as well as for a large number of non-combatant seamen, and he adopted a policy of a redistribution of ships and stations, as well as a decrease of the number of ships which were really useless. "The cost of the Navy," said the *Times*, "is not created by fighting ships or fighting men, but by the non-combatants and ships unfit for fighting. . . . Abroad we have foreign squadrons composed mainly of vessels no longer to be regarded as men-of-war, yet costing the country a heavy annual charge. At home we have old ships by the score encumbering our harbours and rivers, and counting all the while for vast sums in our Estimates. Of any such system as would measure our resources against our wants we have not a vestige. No Minister has yet risen in Parliament to say, without reference to existing forces, how many ships we really want, for what purpose, and of what character."

A commencement was made by the amalgamation of the squadrons on the west coast of Africa and at the Cape of Good Hope, under one command. No change was to be made in the Mediterranean squadron nor in the North American; but Mr. Childers proposed that in China, India, and Australia, twenty-two vessels were to take the place of thirty-six; the squadron on the west coast of Africa might be reduced by one half; the fleet in the Pacific should be reduced from ten to eight vessels, and a slight reduction made on the south-east coast of America. A great reduction in non-combatants was to be made; yet, although the numbers were to be reduced from 65,400 to 63,300, there were to be no blue-jackets the less.

From Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Briggs.¹

January 23, 1869.

I have just read your admirable minute with reference to the distribution of the fleet.

During the last twenty years no minute has afforded me equal professional gratification.

It is exactly that which for years I longed to see, but despaired of ever seeing.

Having had "The Distribution and Composition of the Fleet" before my eyes for upwards of thirty-five years (as Reader and Deputy Reader) must plead my excuse for the liberty, I fear, I take in troubling you with this note.

In the place of the ships to be removed, and in order to keep more men at sea, it was decided that a Flying Squadron should visit all foreign stations periodically, and Admiral Hornby, with the *Liverpool*, the *Phœbe*, the *Endymion*, the *Liffey*, the *Barrosa*, and the *Scylla* was despatched round the world. The squadron visited Australia and anchored in Hobson's Bay. No step could have been better calculated to assist in cementing the union of the Colonies to the Mother Country. The enthusiastic reception accorded to Admiral Hornby gave unmistakable evidence of the existence of that colonial loyalty which has developed since in such a splendid manner. "Never before," wrote the *Times* correspondent in Melbourne, "were so many thousands of people, in every variety of craft, seen on Hobson's Bay, not even to receive the Duke of Edinburgh. That peculiar structure, a ship of war, with her gigantic sodawater-bottle-shaped modern guns, her chilled shot and tall bulwarks, and prodigious yards and masts, and her hundreds of sun-browned, large-throated, muscular sailors, doing all sorts of incomprehensible tasks to bands of music and to unmusical

¹ Every one desirous of understanding the development of the Navy between 1827 and 1892 should study the admirable "Naval Administrations," commenced by Sir John Briggs, and completed after his death by his widow, Lady Briggs.

roars of boatswains alike, seemed to many a colonist no bad representative of the grandeur of 'Old England.' Here, indeed, was power. It was a material exhibition of science in action which made many an old settler sentimental, almost to the point of the lachrymose. 'We are rich, and have abundance to spare,' said one old fellow, a sort of notability in his way, 'why should we not remain part and parcel of Old England? Why not pay our fair share of supporting such magnificent defences as these?' This and many similar speeches were among the first fruits of Childers's 'idea.' Had Mr. Childers, when putting this idea into execution, foreseen its inevitable effect on the colonial imagination? If so, it shows his prescience, and goes far to vindicate the occasional appointment of a Minister whose observation and experience have taken in some of the life of the outlying parts of the British Empire. No number of reams of well-penned despatches, no accumulation of columns of English Parliamentary debates, could ever have reconciled Victorians so much to the idea of 'paying scot and bearing lot' in the business of England's defences as this 'Flying Squadron.'"

One of the great outcries against Naval administration during the previous decade had been the waste in the management of the dockyards. For years past the reduction of the minor dockyards had been advocated. As long ago as 1824 Lord Melville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, had decided on closing Deptford and Woolwich (he had actually offered Deptford for sale), and proposed creating a vast establishment at Chatham (but on the side of the river opposite the site of the existing dockyard). Before, however, his scheme could be carried through the Tory Administration had fallen, and nothing was done in the matter. With the advent of armoured ships it had been pointed out that out of thirty-eight ironclads only

ten could enter Woolwich, and that the whole amount of new work turned out at Woolwich, Deptford, Sheerness, and Pembroke was far less than was annually turned out by many single private establishments.

In 1864 a select committee of seven Liberals and seven Conservatives had unanimously recommended that the dockyards of Woolwich and Deptford should be closed; and the Admiralty of that day had resolved to carry out those recommendations gradually and easily. In 1867 this decision was reversed, and Sir John Pakington set to work to provide a fleet of small wooden craft, and re-engaged a multitude of workmen for the purpose. Next year Sir John was transferred to the War Office; his colleagues changed their minds, and his project was stopped. These fluctuations of purpose rendered doubly difficult the operation of the policy which Mr. Childers now adopted, and although he consistently carried it out by closing both Woolwich and Deptford, he did so at the cost of immense personal unpopularity and of the most violent and bitter abuse.

Another of the subjects which Mr. Childers took up with great zeal was the state of the Naval Reserve.

A Naval Reserve had been organized years before, and by 1869 it numbered 16,000 picked seamen of the Mercantile Marine. Out of these not more than 5000 could ever be available, and hitherto no opportunity of any practice had been afforded them. He resolved to judge for himself the value of this Reserve: and it was accordingly decided to send a fleet to sea for a fortnight's cruise during the Whitsuntide holidays, and to invite the men of the Naval Reserve to join; it was to be entirely a matter of volunteering, and it was announced that the First Lord himself would accompany the squadron.

Upwards of 1900 merchant seamen volunteered for the fortnight's duty, being twice as many as were expected.

The squadron consisted of the flagship at the Nore, the flagship at Queenstown, and a dozen others, chiefly district ships from coastguard stations. There were 1100 men of the Royal Navy, 1000 Marines, 1700 Coastguardsmen, and 1700 Naval Reserve men. Very few of the last had ever before served in the Navy; they came from every quarter of the United Kingdom; they were not trained together beforehand, and embarked only a few days before the fleet put to sea. The officers were unacquainted with the men, the code of signals was new and unfamiliar; in fact, the conditions were those in which a squadron improvised at the commencement of a war would find itself.

The First Lord and First Sea Lord,¹ with Captain Beauchamp Seymour and Captain George Willes, embarked at Portland in the *Agincourt*, bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Cooper-Key.

To his Wife.

H.M.S. "AGINCOURT," May 17, 1869.

The Reserve men are behaving excellently on this ship, and are a very fine body of men. We have some twelve-ton guns, so that they will have the best of exercise, particularly after we begin to fire at a mark. After dark we do a good deal of night signalling by Colomb's flashing system. We entertained at dinner the Chaplain and Commander Bloomfield, and two Naval Reserve officers, Captain Brown and Captain Young, the latter of whom is doing duty as second master, though he is a man of fortune and a gentleman. Both Stanley and Lefevre² smoke, and so does Admiral Key,³ so I have some company in that line.

May 25.

On the whole nothing could have gone off better, and every one is satisfied except, perhaps, a few men of the Naval Reserve from the far north, who have been kept at sea longer than they expected.

¹ Sir Sydney Dacres.

² Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, now the Right Hon. G. J. Shaw Lefevre.

³ Admiral Sir Astley Cooper-Key, G.C.B.

The cruise lasted twelve days, and the result was considered highly satisfactory.

Mr. Childers and Sir Sydney Dacres expressed themselves as pleased with the readiness of the Reserve to volunteer for this service, and with the great willingness and good conduct of the men.

"The good feeling which has prevailed between the three branches of the service enables the First Lord and First Sea Lord to express their hope that in future years opportunities may again be afforded for the exhibition of this harmony, so essential to the strength of the British Navy."¹

Mr. Childers (said the *Army and Navy Gazette*), if for no other public act of his, is entitled to thanks for the manner in which he has stepped forward as the champion of the Royal Naval Reserve.

From Earl Russell.

PEMBROKE LODGE, RICHMOND PARK, S.W.,

February 12, 1869.

I now write on a public question. I am alarmed by Mr. Isherwood's account of his American cruiser, which he says in the most amiable way will destroy our commerce, and also by a letter signed "O." in to-day's *Times*.

If our heavy ships cannot get at the swift wooden steam-sloops of the United States, and if we have not turret ships sufficient to protect our coasts, we shall be in a bad way. No fault of yours; but I have read the *Quarterly Review*, and much doubt whether it was wise in the late Admiralty to send ironclad ships to all the foreign stations. They will be captured singly by roving squadrons of the enemy.

I should not omit that Lord Lyons, when at Washington, always wrote to me that up to a few years ago American statesmen, and generals, and admirals, all thought that at the beginning of a war England would have the best of it; but that opinion had changed, and was then unanimous that the United States would be successful at the commencement of a war between us. Neither Lincoln, nor Johnson, nor Seward wished to try

¹ Circular Order to the Fleet.

the experiment, but I am by no means confident that Grant¹ may not throw down his glove. Shall we live to meet him like an armed man, or like "Priam at the dead of night"? Pray see Captain Bythesea,² and keep your powder dry!

The reply to Lord Russell's letter is important, as in it Mr. Childers expresses the hope that in two years' time our fleet would be equal to that of any two maritime Powers. In this he strikes the first note of the strength the British Navy should maintain with reference to other Powers, a principle which has ever since been recognized by successive Governments, but, unfortunately, not uniformly acted on.

To Earl Russell.

ADMIRALTY, February 17, 1869.

You have raised two distinct questions, "Are we a match for the Americans in fighting ships?" and "Have we a sufficient number of cruisers of great speed to protect our foreign commerce?"

As to the first there can be no doubt. The Americans have nothing with which they could think of crossing the Atlantic to attack us, and our ironclad fleet is quite equal to offensive operations on their coast, and in two years will be a match for any two maritime powers. We are the only nation who are building sea-going turret ships, and when I move the Estimates I hope to satisfy the country on this head.

As to Mr. Isherwood's swift cruisers we have very conflicting accounts. At the best only two are good for anything, and in the *Inconstant*, launched at Pembroke, we have a better ship than either. We are also building the *Volage* and *Active*, while the Americans have laid down nothing since the termination of the war.

If the *Inconstant* and *Volage* type should attain the qualities expected of them, their class will be substituted for our present very alert corvettes. In the event, too, of war we can multiply these ships almost *ad infinitum*

¹ Ulysses S. Grant, then President.

² Captain (now Admiral) Bythesea, R.N., V.C., C.B., at that time Naval Attaché at Washington.

(they have iron frames planked over), with much greater rapidity than all the rest of the world could build.

Generally the state of things is, I think, this. At the beginning of a very sudden maritime war, declared, for instance, within a month of the first threat, we, like any other nation, must expect to suffer in our commerce, especially if we are at war with a country which has not accepted the Declaration of Paris. But we are, even in this respect, better off by far than any other country; the danger to our commerce could not last many months, and as to fighting, we are thoroughly in the right groove.

From Earl Russell.

February 19, 1869.

Your letter about the Navy is an immense relief to me. I am glad to find the Alabama Convention is to be rejected. We may now insist on honourable conditions, or none at all.

Lord Russell here refers to the Convention which the American Minister, Mr. Reverdy Johnson, had entered into with Lord Clarendon, and which Mr. Senator Sumner had denounced and had induced the United States Senate to reject, on the grounds that the Alabama question was being treated as if a private instead of a national one.

In 1870 Lord Clarendon died, and was succeeded by Lord Granville, and Mr. Childers urged the new Foreign Secretary to try and re-open negotiations for the settlement of the whole question.

To Earl Granville.

ADMIRALTY, WHITEHALL, *November 19, 1870.*

Has it occurred to you that if there is any likelihood of a war with Russia it is very important that all cause of difference with the United States should, if possible, be got out of the way? Otherwise there can be little doubt that, however unprepared they may be just now, sooner or later we shall have them on our hands. Would it be possible to make overtures of such a kind as to lead to a

prompt settlement at Washington, including both the Alabama and the St. Juan question?

Lord Granville succeeded in bringing about an arrangement. The British Government sent out Commissioners who, treating the whole question as a national one, brought about the Treaty of Washington, by which Great Britain and the United States agreed to abide by the award of a tribunal of five arbitrators.

During the session of 1869 the naval reforms were the subject of frequent discussion in the House of Commons; and although the main features of the Estimates were favourably received, the changes in Admiralty organization were much criticized, the members of the late Board commenting severely on the economical reductions. Sir James Elphinstone and Admiral Sir John Dalrymple Hay unsparingly attacked Mr. Childers's administration of the Navy, and a heated controversy arose on the shipbuilding programme, the First Lord defending his proposal to build the *Thunderer* and *Devastation*, without waiting for the trials of the *Captain* and *Monarch*.

One of Mr. Childers's measures of this session deserves special mention, as its operation has proved of the greatest benefit to the service. It will be remembered that, in 1865, an Act was passed by which the inmates of Greenwich Hospital were offered the option of accepting a liberal out-pension and residing elsewhere; the experiment was remarkably successful, and out of about 1800 pensioners not 400 remained. Encouraged by the results which attended the measure of 1865, Mr. Childers determined further to reduce the number to so many as could be accommodated in the infirmary, a distinct building from the hospital. Admission in the future to the infirmary was to be restricted to men suffering from actual ill-health, other claimants being placed in naval hospitals

at the cost of Greenwich, or assigned pensions, with liberty to reside at home. By the end of September, 1869, all pensioners not prevented by actual bodily infirmity, had elected to leave the hospital. The Somerset ward of the infirmary was sufficient to accommodate all the men left in Greenwich Hospital, and Mr. Childers at once let it be seen to what use he desired to turn the main building. That magnificent edifice, consecrated to the use of the Royal Navy, would form the most appropriate and suitable building in which to found a "Naval College" worthy of the name; and, as a first step towards this end, it was announced that the examination for entry into the *Britannia* would be forthwith held in Greenwich Hospital. In the following year he appointed a committee to inquire into the whole question, and, in pursuance of their recommendation, he elaborated a scheme for transferring the college from Portsmouth to Greenwich, and he had even settled most of the details, when ill-health compelled him to leave office. The scheme was, eventually, put into operation in 1873, when the details had been perfected and the arrangements carried out by Lord Camperdown,¹ and Mr. Childers, then back in his place in Parliament, expressed his hearty concurrence with the manner in which his successor, Mr. Goschen, had adopted and perfected his idea.

It was in 1869, during the time of these great changes in Naval Administration, that a concession was made to the naval service in the matter of shaving. Up to this year the rule in the Navy had been to shave clean or grow whiskers only. In March, 1869, Prince Leiningen, then captain of the Royal yacht, wrote to Mr. Childers a letter advocating the wearing of beards.

Any one who has been mate of a deck on board a ship of the line or a frigate (he wrote) knows what a trouble

¹ Lord of the Admiralty, 1870-74.

shaving is to the men. There is more bad language made use of during the quarter of an hour devoted to shaving than during any other part of the day; and no wonder! Jack has had three hours on deck, ever since 4 a.m. Perhaps he has been aloft during most of the time, or else he has been on the "look out," steaming head to wind. Down at last he comes at six bells, with his face as hard as iron. . . . A bad razor, a small bit of broken looking-glass about the size of half a crown, very often a wet deck to stand on, the ship all the while rolling or pitching heavily. Such are the difficulties under which the British seaman shaves.

This letter was enclosed in one from the Queen, who subsequently wrote—

From the Queen.

BALMORAL, June 11, 1869.

Has Mr. Childers ascertained anything on the subject of the beards? The old officers will certainly be against it; it should be referred to those now serving, and who look more to the comforts of the men than formerly.

A circular was accordingly addressed to all flag officers in command, and to the other Lords of the Admiralty, who all, with two exceptions, objected and disapproved.

To the Queen.

ADMIRALTY, June 15, 1869.

Mr. Childers presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and has the honour to forward a statement showing in abstract the views entertained by the several admirals commanding at the home ports, in the Mediterranean, and by the Naval members of the Board of Admiralty, on the subject of wearing beards and moustaches in the Navy. At Devonport the Commander-in-Chief obtained the opinions of the captains and principal medical officers.

Mr. Childers humbly submits for your Majesty's consideration the draft of an order proposed to be issued on this subject.



From "Vanity Fair," 1869.

[To face p. 176, Vol. I.]

From the Queen.

WINDSOR CASTLE, June 17, 1869.

The Queen thanks Mr. Childers very much for his communication on the subject of beards. She thinks the order will do extremely well. Her own personal feeling would be for the beards without the moustaches, as the latter have rather a soldierlike appearance; but then the object in view would not be obtained, viz. to prevent the necessity for shaving. Therefore it had better be as proposed, the entire beard, only it should be kept short and very clean.

From the Queen.

WINDSOR CASTLE, June 25, 1869.

The Queen wishes to make one additional observation respecting the beards, viz., that on no account should moustaches be allowed without beards. That must be clearly understood.

The successful cruise with the Reserve Squadron encouraged Mr. Childers to make himself further personally acquainted with the organization and equipment of the fleet. The pressing naval requirements of the day admitted of no leisurely steps for acquiring information. Questions of immense expenditure rested chiefly on the First Lord's decision. The idea of bringing the Channel and Mediterranean Squadrons together, and accompanying them in person, was a bold one; but he determined to adopt it, and to observe for himself the performances of the new vessels at sea; and, with the aid of the many experienced naval officers in the fleet, to study the principles which these vessels exemplified.

Accompanied by the First Sea Lord (Sir Sydney Dacres), he embarked in the *Agincourt*, and proceeded with the Channel Squadron to Gibraltar; thence, joined by the Mediterranean Squadron, the combined fleets, under Sir Alexander Milne, cruised from Gibraltar to Lisbon.

To his Wife.

H.M.S. "AGINCOURT" AT SEA, *August 26, 1869.*

. . . This morning, after breakfast, we went on board the turret ship *Monarch* for the day. She is only a half-and-half turret ship, her deck being used like any other, but her bulwarks being let down when she clears for action. We went into one of the turrets and minutely inspected the machinery for raising and lowering the guns. They weigh twenty-five tons (besides their carriages) each, and throw a shot of 600 pounds weight. The first shot was from two at the same time in one turret. I fired it, but the noise and smoke were not nearly as great as I expected. We lunched on board, and looked carefully over the whole ship. Its principal fault is the heat and closeness below. But she sails well, and has an excellent body of officers, and ship's company. . . .

Friday, August 27.

. . . We worked a good deal yesterday, and I am getting on with my great promotion and retirement scheme, which will be a leading feature in the Estimates next year. We have an extremely bad court martial case in this squadron, which is giving us much thought. . . .

GIBRALTAR, *August 31.*

Here we are, having arrived between three and four o'clock. We had rather a narrow escape of being run down during luncheon by Symonds's ship, which, during an evolution, came towards us at excessive speed, and with great difficulty was brought about—three feet clear of our stern! . . .

They have had very hot weather in the Mediterranean, but, except *Caledonia*, the fleet is healthy. We have here six ironclads—*Lord Warden*, *Caledonia*, *Prince Consort*, *Royal Oak*, *Pallas*, and *Enterprise*, the corvette *Cruiser*, and the *Psyche*; so we go to sea fifteen strong. My only regret is not to have the *Captain* (Coles's ship), but it was out of the question. . . .

September 2.

This morning we were up again soon after five, and at half-past six the Governor and his staff and Sir A. Milne joined us on board the *Psyche*, and we steamed through the Straits, with a fine breeze, to Tangier. We had sent

on last night to inform his Excellency, Sir John Drummond Hay, our Minister, that we were coming, and such a function! We were received by the Pacha and a guard at the landing-place; then by the Foreign Minister, with whom I have a strong suspicion that I unwittingly negotiated a treaty. Then we walked to a market and about the town, returned the visits at the Castle, shopped, and came off. I have bought you some curiosities. Such an event as a Cabinet Minister and sundry admirals and generals going to "The Moor," was utterly unheard of. . . .

"AGINCOURT" (at sea), *September 3, 1869.*

. . . We left Gibraltar with a strong east wind (Levanter) and warm, muggy weather. I think I told you that we had to leave the *Inconstant* behind on account of an accident to her engine, but she joined us early the next morning. We put ourselves soon into three lines, we, at first, taking the left or port line; but afterwards we came over to the other side, and the present (normal) position of the fleet is as I give below:—

<i>Minotaur.</i>	<i>Lord Warden.</i>	<i>Agincourt.</i>	<i>Cruiser.</i>
<i>Northumberland.</i>	<i>Royal Oak.</i>	<i>Monarch.</i>	
<i>Bellerophon.</i>	<i>Caledonia.</i>	<i>Hercules.</i>	<i>Enterprise.</i>
<i>Pallas.</i>	<i>Prince Consort.</i>	<i>Inconstant.</i>	

Of these you will remember that six large ironclads and one large unarmoured frigate belong to the Channel and Home Fleet; and we have brought from the Mediterranean four large ironclads (*Lord Warden, Royal Oak, Caledonia, Prince Consort*); one smaller (*Pallas*); one very small (*Enterprise*), and the little wooden corvette, *Cruiser*. So we are altogether twelve ironclads, and two unarmoured ships, or twelve large and two small ships. The two latter, you see, are not in any of the lines, but are on our starboard beam, ready to go on errands, when wanted, . . .

September 7.

This morning, before breakfast, we sent off the *Royal Oak* twelve miles to leeward, and started our fastest ships to race to her and back. They are now (11 a.m.) returning, the *Inconstant* and *Cruiser* leading.

Wednesday, September 8.

The race ended by *Inconstant* coming up well three miles to windward of *Cruiser*, and the *Royal Oak* again

beating the *Hercules* and *Monarch*. We wish we had some fast frigate with us to compare with *Inconstant*, such as the *Ariadne*. Dacres talks of bringing out the *Warrior* to the rendezvous off Finisterre. . . .

September 13.

In the night we rolled a good deal, hardly moving *through* the water, and this morning I was up before six to see the fleet go into the Tagus. It was a splendid sight; a fine sunrise, light air from the east, and everything in the finest order. We kept near the northern shore (on which are Cintra and Mafra), in two lines, then put them into one of nearly seven and a half miles in length (fourteen ships) to cross the bar, and then, when fairly in the Tagus, into two again, we ahead between the two.

We passed Belem, and then the grand pile of the king's palace (Adjuda), and at last anchored simultaneously in our lines, opposite the "Packet Stairs," just where the Tagus widens again into a lake to the east and south-east of Lisbon. It was a pretty operation, and well done.

Here there are two American ships—one a boys' training ship, the other a corvette just arrived. We have had a desperate amount of saluting, and, since we anchored, both the admirals, an officer from the Port Office, an officer from the Mission, Mr. Brackenbury, the Consul, Sir George Sartorius, and others, have been off to pay their respects. Sir Charles Murray (who married Lady Sebright's sister) is the English Minister, but he is away; so Mr. Doria, the Secretary of Legation, is coming to us at two o'clock. After he leaves we inspect the *Minotaur* and *Northumberland*, and visit one of the Americans, and then go on shore to do a little shopping. To-night we dine with Sir A. Milne, to-morrow our present idea is to go to Cintra, etc. . . .

H.M.S. "AGINCOURT," in the Tagus, September 16, 1869.

. . . Just after I finished my note to you yesterday, came a message that his Majesty would be on board in an hour. So we had to signal to all the admirals and captains, and at half-past two his Majesty left the dockyard, and I received him at the gangway. I was formally presented to him by the *Chargé d'affaires*, and I then presented Sir S. Dacres and our staff, and the admirals and their staff. The latter then presented their own captains. We then took him aft, and gave him some wine and fruit, and I showed him round the ship. I was in

my Windsor uniform, and he in a captain's in the Navy with English orders. He then expressed a wish to call at the other flagships and the *Monarch*; so I sent off the two admirals, and Sir S. Dacres and I went with the King in his barge. When we got to each ship I went up first, received him, and re-introduced the admiral and captain, who showed him round. On board the *Monarch* the formality was that I presented the admiral, and he the captain, and the latter showed the King round. He had intended to come back to us to smoke a cigar and see the boat-race, but he stayed so long in the *Monarch's* turret that it was too late, and he parted with us on her quarter-deck. He was very effusive to me, holding my hand a long time, and saying all sorts of civil things. My speech was to thank him for the protection he always afforded to our fleet.

He is about thirty, very fair, but shy.

He was accompanied by the two admirals whom we had seen before, an *aide-de-camp*, and an officer of artillery, who opened his eyes at our twelve- and twenty-five-ton guns.

After taking leave on board the *Monarch*, we came back here and saw the race for my cup, which was won by the *Minotaur*; *Hercules*, second; *Agincourt*, third. Some ladies, etc., had come on board with Sir G. Sartorius and his son-in-law, the Chaplain of the Embassy, etc. . . .

September 18, 1869.

. . . We got away before ten o'clock, and having sent the corvette out early, steamed in two lines to the bar. Unfortunately two ships, the *Hercules* and *Bellerophon*, had some trouble with their anchors, and the little *Enterprise* was left behind for some letters and clothes, and to pay the bills; so we only steamed out ten strong. But it was a very fine sight. Off Belem we saluted the King, who stood on the Palace balcony, waving a handkerchief to us, and the fort returned it. . . .

Tuesday, September 21, 1869.

I have been talking a good deal to Dacres about Lennie, and I have a good mind to put him into this ship with Glyn's brother, whom I have just appointed captain. She will leave early in October, and not return till next summer from Lisbon and Madeira. But I should like in December to transfer him to the *Captain* (Captain

Burgoyne), where he would have the opportunity of, in the day time, being officer of the watch. Burgoyne is a very excellent captain, and the ship will be the crack turret ship. . . .

September 22, 1869.

We spent yesterday afternoon principally in scolding *Hercules* for being out of station. But she suffered terribly in the gale, losing fore topmast, mainstay, and I know not how many sails and smaller matters. We also worked hard at official papers. . . .

The cruise lasted three weeks, and ended on the 13th of September. The spectacle of the combined squadrons "manœuvring at sea under the flag of Admiral Childers," as his critics put it, afforded far too good a chance to be missed, and was eagerly seized on by his political foes and the professional opponents of his naval reforms; but those, however, whose ideas were not warped by personal ill-will saw the matter in a different light, and considered that this proceeding marked a greater fitness for his high office than had been shown by an immense majority of his predecessors. "The First Lord," said the *Times*, "has made himself acquainted with numberless important matters connected with the ships, their organization, crews, and armaments, to an extent that fifty years' continuous rule at Whitehall would never have given him, at the same time gaining his knowledge free from that strong professional prejudice which blights the greater number of opinions tendered by the colleagues of a civil First Lord when given within the magic precincts of the four walls of the ancient Board-room."

The "great promotion and retirement scheme," which he speaks of in one of the foregoing letters, was a measure which he long had contemplated. When Junior Lord, his attention had been forcibly drawn to the very unsatisfactory state of the officers' lists, especially the

retired lists; and after he took up the reins at Whitehall he found the following state of affairs:—

In 1859 there had been 2690 employed, and 1331 unemployed officers.

In 1869 there were 2508 employed, and 1537 unemployed; and of admirals alone there were 95, of whom only 15 were employed.

On the 8th of January, 1869, he writes:—

To Mr. Spencer Butler.

I propose to institute an actuarial inquiry as to the proper numbers for the active list of each rank in the service, with given conditions as to age, and with a datum number for one rank. As soon as I see my way, I propose to take up the general question, and endeavour to substitute some simple rule of service for the present intricate and unintelligible so-called system of retirement. It will be a long and very troublesome operation, but if the principle is sound the rest must follow.

Accordingly he set to work to grapple with the question, and to place the lists, both as to numbers, conditions of retirement, and pay generally, on a satisfactory footing: during the autumn and winter of 1869 he worked at this retirement scheme, and on the 12th of February, 1870, he completed his task, and obtained the Queen's approval.

By 11.30 train to Portsmouth. Sir James Hope¹ met me at the station. To Osborne in a gale of wind and snow. Bitterly cold. A long conversation with General Grey,² and an audience of some length with the Queen. Settled my retirement scheme finally. Dined with the Queen.

On the 28th he moved the Navy Estimates in the House

¹ Admiral Sir James Hope, G.C.B., then Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth; President later in the year of the Court Martial which inquired into the loss of the *Captain*.

² Private Secretary to the Queen and joint Keeper of the Privy Purse. In 1834 he defeated Disraeli at High Wycombe.

of Commons, and explained his scheme of retirement, the principles of which may be briefly summed up as follows :—

He found that there were a thousand junior officers on the Navy List more than the number required to replace the waste. This number he had recalculated and corrected ; and, going to the upper end of the list, he then estimated the number of admirals, captains, commanders, and lieutenants necessary to meet the requirements of the Navy as it then stood, allowing margin for casualties and the expansion necessary in war time.

He was careful to fix the upper lists on a liberal calculation of officers required in each grade, and not for the purpose of ensuring a flow of promotion—a principle which, if adopted, would, he considered, be most costly and hurtful.

For those officers who could not be promoted, he provided a sufficiently liberal retirement—a far more liberal retirement than had previously been known. In no other way could the needs of the service, which demanded a far greater number of officers in the junior ranks, be met.

He took it for granted that the cream of each grade would be taken off by promotion, the efficiency of the upper grades being thereby ensured.

If this scheme did not sufficiently meet the just demands of the officers, he contended that the proper remedy would be to increase their pay, either full, or retired, or both ; but he did not think this would be necessary.

It was also part of his intention that a certain freedom as to retirement before reaching the optional age of forty should be accorded to lieutenants, if the requirements of the service admitted of it.

In a letter written to Sir Anthony Hoskins many years afterwards, he said :—

Nothing would have induced me to give such good rates of retirement if, above the rank of lieutenant, the

lists were to be swollen in order to give promotion. The choice was between excessive lists and insufficient retired pay on the one side, and lists regulated absolutely by service requirements and liberal retired pay on the other. It would be most unjust to the taxpayer to revert to the old system of swollen active lists, and to retain high rates of retired pay.

Mr. Childers spent the Easter recess of 1870 in Italy. This was the year of the Œcumenical Council, and Rome was, during Holy Week, the centre of interest of the civilized world.

To his Wife.

HOTEL COSTANZI, ROME, *Easter Sunday, 1870.*

This morning we were up at half-past six, breakfasted at seven, and went (I in uniform) to St. Peter's, arriving at eight. One of the Pope's *cameriere* put us into some seats behind the bishops, and only three people were there before us! Between eight and half-past they gradually streamed in, until the choir was full of royalties, bishops, diplomats, etc. Opposite the altar (the canopy over which you will remember) was the Pope's throne, and on both sides tribunes and rows of seats. It was very striking to see, in addition to the usual prelates, officers, etc., the seven hundred bishops, all in their full dress with their mitres. The Pope came in sitting in a chair under a canopy, raised on men's shoulders, with the two great fans of peacock feathers. He was carried up the nave and into the choir. Then he got down and walked to the upper throne, and back to the lower, near the altar, where he received the cardinals' homage. Then Mass began, at which he officiated, reading partly at one throne and partly at the other; and, of course, consecrating at the altar. It was rather tedious, as when he read from the throne at the end, the books had to be brought to him, with a good deal of pomp for each prayer, etc. At the consecration the wonderful silver trumpet accompaniment was given, and they sang the Easter hymn beautifully. The Pope himself communicated at the upper throne, taking the wine through a tube. He administered to some of the people near him.

We were taken care of by a good many people, among

others, Sir George Bowyer.¹ After the service was over we went outside to a gallery to see the Pope give the Benediction to Rome and the world, from the central gallery over the porch. His voice was marvellous, and might be heard at any distance.

We got home, and I was glad of some luncheon and to get off my uniform, and I afterwards spent an hour with Dupanloup, the Bishop of Orleans, who is one of the leaders of the Liberal party. I met there Bishop Clifford, of Clifton, Dr. Errington, etc. I had a very pleasant talk with Dupanloup, who has hopes that, after all, things may not go to the extreme.² This evening Sir James³ and Lady Colville went with us to see the illumination of St. Peter's.

April 16, 1870.

After I wrote to you yesterday C.⁴ and I started off on foot for Odo Russell's.⁵ We found him in, and also Lord Acton,⁶ and we got some advice and addresses. As we were walking about we met Sir James Colville, and we went with him to San Clemente, to see the Roman Catholic Bishop of Vierry, and then to St. Paolo fuori le Mura; then back through the Transtevere to St. Peter's, to hear the *Miserere*, which, in consequence of the number of people in Rome, was sung in St. Peter's, instead of the Sistine Chapel. We saw there one of the cardinals, who is grand penitentiary, give people a hundred days' indulgence by touching them on the head with what looks like a golden fishing-rod, and somebody confessed to him in public, a thing which has not happened for many years. Mr. and Lady Emily Russell were with us at St. Peter's, and introduced me to sundry people—Monsignor Howard,⁷ formerly a guardsman, now in the Pope's household, etc.

This morning we went to the Lateran to see Jews

¹ Ex-M.P. for Dundalk, chamberlain to Pope Pius IX., and a distinguished Jesuit.

² Referring to the Papal Infallibility Dogma, *vide* footnote, p. 200.

³ A member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

⁴ His eldest son, Charles, then at Trinity College, Cambridge.

⁵ Then practically, though informally, Minister at the Vatican; afterwards Ambassador at Berlin, and first Lord Ampthill. His wife, Lady Emily Russell, was the daughter of Lord Clarendon, then Foreign Secretary.

⁶ Now Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge.

⁷ Edward Henry Howard, a Cardinal, died in 1892.

baptized, and a very long ordination by Cardinal Patrizzi. . . .

To-morrow we go very early to St. Peter's for the Pope's High Mass, and we shall be sight-seeing in the evening—fireworks, etc. I am greatly tempted to stay over next Sunday week for the public session of the Council, which will be on that day, but I fear I dare not be away so long.

I hear next to nothing of fever, and Rome is choke full of English, Americans, and every sort of foreigner.

Yesterday I saw Archbishop Manning, who was very kind, and I sat some time with Lady Colville. They say Lady — has been all but converted by Monsignore Capel;¹ but her friends say that she has been so recently leading the way in private theatricals that she ought to go away and be quiet before she is converted. But Rome is worse than London for unfounded stories, and this may be one. . . .

While at the Treasury in 1865-66, Mr. Childers had dealt with questions of Army Promotion and Retirement. When Mr. Cardwell, in 1870, was maturing his scheme of Army Reform, he often consulted Mr. Childers, and referred to him his scheme of Army Promotion and Retirement.

To Mr. Cardwell.

ADMIRALTY, December 19, 1870.

I have thought over your plan of promotion, and the difficult points raised in discussion with you and Vivian here.

I think that twenty-four years to reach the rank of Lieut.-Colonel is a fair average—that I should qualify absolute regimental seniority by a maximum proportion of selection, and by greater facilities for transfer to and from the reserve forces.

It is perhaps a purely military question, but my impression is that this offers a favourable opportunity for abolishing the rank of Major.

I have also a weakness for calling a spade a spade, and

¹ Supposed to be the original of *Catesby* in "Lothair," which was published about this time.

would abolish the honorary colonelcies of regiments, giving the prizes in another shape.

I would, I think, still further reduce the proportion of regimental officers.

One to sixty is, I believe, ample. I would raise the pay of the higher grade of non-commissioned officers.

I doubt your £365 and £456 retirements being high enough.

If you give greater facilities for interchanging educated officers between the Army and the Reserve Forces, you may reserve all the commands in the latter for Army Lieut.-Colonels.

I could not explain in a short note my view of *very* short time,¹ but I am strongly of opinion that it should be tried in some form.

Mr. Childers had carried out his naval policy with conspicuous success ; and his reforms, although keenly criticized within and without the House of Commons, were generally well received, and obtained the support of public opinion. It was not in the House of Commons, however, but in his own Board-room, that his difficulties lay—difficulties which had commenced from the first meeting of the re-organized Board, and which had continued to increase as time went on. The Controller had been a thorn in the side of the First Sea Lord ever since he had been, by the new arrangement, elevated to a seat at the Board. In order to concentrate and amalgamate the Somerset House branch in the Admiralty proper, the Controller's Department had been removed from the Strand and brought over to the central building in Whitehall.²

¹ *I.e.* "short service," which Mr. Cardwell afterwards introduced and carried through.

²

To General Grey.

January 31, 1870.

May I ask you to mention to her Majesty that, in moving all the old books and papers from Somerset House, the journal kept by his Majesty King William the Fourth (with his original certificates as a midshipman of H.M.S. *Queen*) has been found, and that if her Majesty will permit me, I should desire to present it to her?

The journal is nicely bound. It relates to the years 1783 to 1785.

Sir Spencer Robinson was not long in coming into collision with the First Sea Lord, his official superior, but his equal in naval rank. Constant dissensions and personal differences followed, both within and without the Board-room; and to such an extent was this carried, that by the end of 1870 the Controller and Third Lord had threatened to resign; the Chief Constructor had resigned, the Civil Lord¹ had resigned (though on a different matter, as he did not agree with the educational policy of the Government), and, to crown all, the First Sea Lord—Mr. Childers's right-hand man and "Chief of the Staff"—now threatened resignation also.

To enter into the causes of these troubles would little benefit the reputations of those concerned, nor be of much interest to the general reader. One matter, however, must be referred to, as it was the origin of great professional jealousy and recrimination in the Controller's Department. The construction of the turret ship *Captain* led up to a great naval disaster—a disaster which, combined with the troubles in the Board-room, accelerated the breakdown of the First Lord's health, and hastened his relinquishment of office.

Long before Mr. Childers had come to the Admiralty the merits of the turret system advocated by Captain Cowper Coles, R.N., had been discussed and fought over; and, though discountenanced by the naval constructors of the day, he had obtained the warm support of a large section of the public. As far back as 1859 the Admiralty had refused any encouragement to the invention; but at last,

The Queen herself replied at once :—

From the Queen.

OSBORNE, February 1, 1870.

The Queen will gladly accept the journal of her uncle, King William, which Mr. Childers kindly offers her.

¹ Mr. Trevelyan.

in 1866, after seven years of persistent effort, Captain Cowper Coles obtained a recognition of the merits of his designs, and was informed that an opportunity would be given of reducing to practice his views of what a sea-going turret ship should be. Accordingly he submitted a design prepared by Messrs. Laird Brothers, and the latter were invited by the Board of Admiralty to construct a sea-going turret ship to carry four 600-pounders, the entire responsibility for the proper construction of the ship to be shared by them and Captain Coles. In this letter the Admiralty specially added, "It is desirable you should thoroughly satisfy yourselves on the question of centre of gravity." In accepting this invitation they replied, "We have carefully considered the position of the centre of gravity, and have no reason to fear that the vessel will be deficient in stability."

The work was put in hand at once, and when Mr. Childers came to the Admiralty, two years later, he found the *Captain* (as the ship was named) very nearly completed.

I took office with no prejudices on this subject (the construction of turret ships). I found it had been decided by my predecessor not to propose to Parliament in the ensuing session the construction of any new ironclads. This policy, however, was not adopted by me. I determined to proceed steadily with ship-building of this character, and within a few days after the formation of the Board I considered all the principal designs of ironclad ships, whether turret or broadside, which had been under the consideration of the previous Board. With regard to the *Captain* and *Monarch* the Board decided not to arrive at any conclusion until the results of the trials of these ships were completed; but a proposal by Mr. Reed¹ for a two-turreted ship of 4400 tons was approved, and provision was included in the Estimates for commencing two ships of this type (the *Thunderer* and *Devastation*), differing entirely from the *Captain* and *Monarch*, being unmasted, with an armoured breastwork round the turrets, funnel, etc.

¹ Now Sir Edward Reed, K.C.B., M.P.

When, however, on the 27th of March, 1869, the *Captain* was floated out of dock it was found that, with her full complement on board, and 1100 tons of coal, she would only have a freeboard of five feet three and a half inches, instead of eight feet as intended. This was duly reported to the Controller, and the Admiralty refused to accept the ship until she had been tried at sea.

On the 22nd of April she was commissioned, and on the 6th of May she proceeded on her first trial cruise, with the *Monarch* and *Volage*. The Controller himself embarked as a passenger in the *Monarch* to watch the *Captain's* performances. The only remark as to her stability in the report made was an extract from a report by Captain Rice, R.N. :—

The *Captain* is not a ship which should be much pressed under sail; a heel of fourteen degrees would bring her gunwale to the water, and from that point, of course, her stability would very rapidly decrease.

On the 22nd of May she joined the Channel Fleet for her second cruise, under Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Symonds, whose reports on her were very favourable: he recommended certain changes in her masting, but not in connection with her stability. His reports were referred to the Controller and Constructor, neither of whose reports contained any reference to the ship's stability.

A third cruise under Captain Burgoyne and Captain Cowper Coles was equally satisfactory, and no remarks were made as to her stability.

On the 4th of August the *Captain* started on her fourth and fatal cruise, forming one of the Channel Squadron, under Sir Hastings Yelverton, which at Gibraltar joined the Mediterranean Squadron, under Sir Alexander Milne, who took command of the combined fleet. Sir Hastings was instructed to try the qualities of the ships, particularly

of the *Hercules*, *Monarch*, and *Captain*, while Sir Alexander Milne was directed to take such measures as he should think most expedient for testing their various qualities.

On the 6th of September, the combined fleet being off Finisterre, the Commander-in-Chief went on board the *Captain*, and remained all day watching her performances. He called Captain Coles's attention to her great heel at the time when the gunwale of the ship was level with the water, the sea washing over the lee-side of the ship, fore and aft, to a depth of about two feet. He said to Captain Coles, "I cannot reconcile myself to this state of things, so very unusual in all my experience." Captain Coles replied, "Oh, there is not the slightest danger."

About midnight a heavy gale came on, in which several of the ships of the fleet lowered their topsails. Before, however, the *Captain*, which was at the time under double-reefed topsails, could shorten sail, she capsized and foundered; and of 501 on board only 18 escaped.

The *Captain* had on board a picked crew. Her commanding officer, son of the aged Field Marshal, Sir John Burgoyne, was one of the foremost officers of the Navy. Lord Northbrook and Sir John Pakington (both First Lords at various times) had a son and a nephew respectively on board; a son of Lord Herbert of Lea (a former War Secretary) and a brother of the Marquis of Huntly, were among the lost. And among them, too, was Mr. Childers's second son, Leonard, who, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, "found his way thus early out of an uncertain world." He had been a boy of singular promise; had served with credit in the Pacific for three years, and had been only shortly before transferred from the *Monarch*. To his mother, the blow, so unexpected, was a peculiarly crushing one; while his father's personal sorrow was accentuated by the knowledge of the effect which to him, politically and officially, the loss of this great ship would

have. Mr. and Mrs. Childers had left England shortly before the news reached London, and the information reached them while travelling in Switzerland.

To Sir Sydney Dacres.

ST. MORITZ, *September 18, 1870.*

We arrived here yesterday, and to-day's post has brought us your note of the 10th, with a copy of Milne's private letter, and also your telegram.

Thank you very much, my dear friend, for all your affectionate words to my poor wife and myself. It is a terrible blow, and the details which we have received to-day, including the letters in the *Times*, have re-opened the wound, and my wife is almost distracted. Our poor boy was very near her heart, and she cannot realize that he is gone. But you, my kind friend, know yourself what this is.

We are acting on your advice, and unless I am recalled by Mr. Gladstone I think we shall stay abroad till towards the end of the month. I am already better for the air of this part of the world.

From the Queen.

BALMORAL, *September 13, 1870.*

The Queen cannot sufficiently express her horror and her sorrow at the dreadful misfortune which has befallen so many families, including Mr. Childers's own, in the loss of the *Captain*.

Words are wanting to say what she feels, or how deeply she sympathises with him and Mrs. Childers, and also the bereaved families. Poor Captain C. Coles she deeply regrets also.

The Queen trusts that Mr. Childers's health may not suffer from this unexpected and heavy blow, and that God will support him and his family, and give them that comfort which He alone can.

From Mr. Bright.

LLANDUDNO, *September 13, 1870.*

DEAR MRS. CHILDERS,—Forgive me if I intrude upon you, but I want to tell you how my heart is made sad by the thought of your loss and your grief.

How many mothers are mourning this very terrible and strange accident, by which you have been smitten! I seem

to have thought continually of Mr. Childers and yourself since the dreadful news reached me. May God give you strength to bear the blow He has permitted to strike you.

With much sympathy for you in your distress,

I am, very sincerely yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

From Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne.

20, BRUNSWICK TERRACE, BRIGHTON, *September 17, 1870.*

It was most kind and considerate of you, in the midst of your own sad bereavement, to afford a word of sympathy for me and mine, and very grateful I feel for the kind expression of your condolence, communicated to me by Captain Stanhope.

The same awful calamity has brought grief on both of us, by one of those fearful casualties of the service in which our poor sons were engaged, and such as I am satisfied are occasionally unavoidable, in the spirited course of action necessary for its improvement; and it is cruel now to attempt to attach responsibility to those who worked zealously for their country, for results, the extent of which never was, nor could be, anticipated.

No such reasoning, however, can secure for us, as individuals, any diminution of the intensity of the heavy blow which has fallen upon us.

I always felt a great pride in the favour with which you have ever honoured my son; and I am happy to believe that you have continued to think him worthy of it, to the last period of his existence.

From the Queen.

BALMORAL, *October 24, 1870.*

The Queen has to thank Mr. Childers for his letter of the 19th, giving an account of what is proposed to be done for the poor relatives of those who perished in the *Captain*, and she highly approves and rejoices to see that poor Mrs. C. Coles is specially to be thought of.

It must, however, be most harrowing to Mr. Childers's feelings to have to settle all this.

The Queen thanks him for his former touching letter, and trusts his health is pretty good.

In pursuance of the custom of the service, a Court-martial assembled to inquire into the loss of the ship and

to try the survivors; ten days later the finding of the Court was published. The survivors were fully acquitted, but the Court added a further opinion, blaming the Board of Admiralty, which had, in 1866, ordered the building of the ship, and expressing regret that the officer in command had not been informed of the departure from the original design, or, if otherwise, that the ship was allowed to be employed in the ordinary service of the fleet before her stability had been effectually ascertained by calculation and experiment. These opinions were severely criticized by the Board in a minute; while, at the same time, out-of-doors, a strong feeling of disappointment was manifested at the result of the Court-martial; and it was felt that further steps were necessary to get rid of the prevalent idea that a department was to be screened.

Meanwhile Mr. Childers had returned home, and, to meet this opinion, determined to take steps to set forth the whole story of the ship; and himself drew up, in the form of a minute, the history of the *Captain*, giving the circumstances in which she was built, and the proceedings in connection with her, from the time of her being floated out down to her loss, together with a statement in full of the policy of the existing Board with respect to turret ships.

The First Lord further announced that a Committee would be appointed to advise the Board of Admiralty on the designs of all new ironclad ships. The selection of this Committee revived all the differences with the Controller, who, at first, expressed great satisfaction at the proposal, and asked that he might resign his position at the Admiralty to conduct it. But on this proposal being negatived, the Controller not only protested against the Committee, but objected generally to the appointment of any Committee at all. Disagreeable scenes followed; and matters eventually came to such a pass that the retirement of the Controller shortly after took place.

It is not desirable in this memoir to enter into the details of Mr. Childers's difficulties with Sir Spencer Robinson. One result of the painful interviews which took place, was the breakdown of the First Lord's health, already overtaxed by the strain of long official hours during the day, followed by Parliamentary labours which often lasted till the early hours of the next morning. The loss of the *Captain* and his son's death, the very bitter opposition of those senior naval officers with whom his retirement scheme was, not unnaturally, unpopular, combined with the personal difficulties with the Controller, affected his strength. He struggled on at his work till the end of the year; and, early in 1871, in the hope of regaining his health by a temporary respite from official cares, he proceeded to Madeira in the *Enchantress*. But on returning home, after a short absence, it was at once evident that he was quite unfit to resume his duties, and on the 3rd of March he tendered his resignation.

"No First Lord," writes Sir John Briggs,¹ [whose personal knowledge of the Admiralty extended over forty-four years], "has ever done more for the good of the Navy, than Mr. Childers. His scheme of retirement, his re-distribution and composition of the fleet (leading up to the present organization and mobilization), his grand works at Portsmouth and Chatham, and the consolidation of the Admiralty departments, are all four most important measures, each bearing lasting testimony to his Herculean labours, which, together with the differences of opinion amongst the members of his Board, caused his health to fairly break down, and finally compelled him to retire from office, and leave to others the carrying into effect of those other important measures he had hoped to have been able himself to achieve—measures calculated to improve the efficiency of the Navy and the public good."

Mr. Childers (writes a Naval Officer of high rank, fully conversant with the subject) became First Lord of the

¹ "Naval Administrations," by Sir John Briggs.

Admiralty at a time of great difficulty. The old order was giving place to the new, and he fell upon the transition period.

The ship-building policy, the *personnel* of the Navy, the Retired Lists, and the organization of the Admiralty, had all to be recast and readjusted, so far as possible, to the requirements of the country, and of our foreign policy.

To all this was added the total change in the administration of Greenwich Hospital funds, and the use to which the buildings were put.

With this task he manfully grappled, and, if the success of his work was not uniform in all branches of his undertaking, it is not to be wondered at.

One monument of his energy and financial capacity is at present, however, very conspicuous, and that is the reconstruction of the Officers' Lists of the Royal Navy, placing them on a solid foundation, with reference to entry, promotion, and retirement of all classes, and establishing sound principles for future guidance of the Admiralty.

This great scheme was embodied in the Order in Council of 1870. And the results of its working and the principles on which it was founded were made the subject of a mixed committee by Lord Spencer in 1895. The result was fully to sustain it, and to show that no rival scheme could compare with it. Some amendments and additions were recommended, and have been effected, but it is safe to say that these were such as Mr. Childers had himself from the first contemplated, but which could not be carried out when the scheme was first introduced to the service.

From the fact of its being in some measure opposed to the sentiments and vested interests of the older officers, it was at first very unfavourably received by them, but it was a dayspring of hope to the younger officers, both as to employment, promotion, and means of livelihood,

and was cordially welcomed by them. The officer who often probably knew more about the state of the lists and chances in the service than any other—the late Captain McArthur—wrote at the time, that he was sure that the more it was looked into by his brother officers, the more it would be liked.

Mr. Childers's health gave way under his stupendous self-imposed task, and he was unable to complete the reforms which he initiated ; but, based on sound principles, they have survived the experience of many years, marked at first by bitter antagonism and hostile criticism, and they gave the Navy the first start in the path of progress, which has brought it to a state which fulfils the hope he expressed in his commencement of the work.

His retirement was thus alluded to by *The Times* :—

The serious illness of Mr. Childers, though he has been persuaded to remain in office for a limited time with an entire respite from business, is almost as much a national as it is an individual calamity. He has rendered the State such true and faithful service that the loss of such a man at any time would arouse universal regret, but now, with a newly organized department and every duty and responsibility centred in its chief, and with the political horizon clouded as it has not been for many years, his illness is doubly to be deplored. When great commanders fall in the front of the battle, or leaders among our statesmen droop in the heat of political life, the heart of the nation is touched, and universal sympathy is awakened. Mr. Childers is one of the youngest of our leading public men ; he had a love and a power of work which nothing seemed to tire ; he had accomplished in the space of two short years a series of reforms in every branch of the great department entrusted to him ; the heaviest of his toils seemed to be accomplished, when suddenly he is arrested by a warning that he has tried his strength too far, and must seek absolute repose if he would hope in future years to play a prominent part in the councils of his country.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COLONIES AND THE DUCHY.

1871-1874.

Tour through Europe—Vienna and Berlin—Returns Home—Acts as Agent-General for Victoria—Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster—The "Shuffle of the Cards" in 1873—Dissolution of 1874—State of the Navy.

RELEASED from the cares and strife of the Admiralty Board, Mr. Childers, in April, 1871, left England ; and, accompanied by his wife, travelled leisurely southward, through Holland and Germany, visiting the battle-fields of Alsace and Lorraine.

At St. Privat he records :—

I made careful inquiry, and am satisfied that the story about the Prussians being "*culbutés dans les carrières de Jaumont*" is a complete fable. Not one man was driven into them. On the contrary, the French were in complete retreat and flight at that point.

At Strasburg :—

The destruction of houses in and out of the town is incredible. . . . The cathedral is much less injured than I had expected ; one shell destroyed a window and struck the organ, and there are panes of glass (stained), here and there, out. The misery of the inhabitants seems intense.

From Metz¹ and Strasburg they went to Carlsruhe and Munich.

¹ Visiting Metz Cathedral, he was struck by a tablet to an abbess, Countess of Choiseul-Slamville, with the following inscription :—

" *Nec fortunæ vicibus, nec morborum doloribus,
Nec longævæ senectutis languoribus fracta ;*

Called on Dr. Döllinger. He spoke with great frankness about his own and our Church, Bavarian and English politics, etc. He said he had known Gladstone for twenty years. I asked him a good deal about Dupanloup, Hainault, etc. Two days later his excommunication¹ arrived.

At Vienna he met Beust.

Called on Count Beust, who talked to me for half an hour, speaking about the Eastern question and dualism. He is, I should think, a fairly able man. He was anxious to disclaim dualism as his, and he spoke of himself as alone able to work it out, because, independent of both parties, he said that it secured Austria's inability to go to war, from the necessity of obtaining the support of two Parliaments; and he spoke of this as if it was, or he wished me to think it was, an advantage. Of course this is the opposite of a wise constitution, the secret of being able to keep the peace being readiness to obtain the support of the country, and to put a force in motion. What would England be if the action of her fleets depended on the good-will of a Parliament in Dublin as well as in London? Nothing involved Germany in war so much, even before the Peace of Westphalia, as the difficulty of putting the cumbrous empire in motion.

May 3.—Went to the Belvedere Palace, and spent some time on the first floor (Italian and Flemish pictures), and also saw the Ambroz collection. In the afternoon I made calls, and walked to the Lichtenstein gardens. To the opera (Princess Schwartzberg's box) with the Czernins. The countess appears very pleasant.

Sed quasi aurum quod per ignem transiit probata ad meliorem vitam,
Cujus spes in cœlum erat reposita,
Migravit, anno ætatis suæ xciii.
Pauperes lacrymis, amici desiderio,
Omnes laude, funus prosecuti sunt.
R.I.P.²

¹ In consequence of his attitude on the Infallibility question. The doctrine of Infallibility was the important part of the *Constitutio de Ecclesia*. The division of the Council showed 400 *placet*, 88 *non-placet*, and 60 *placet juxta modum*. The *non-placets* included Cardinals Schwartzberg, Rauscher, and Matthieu, Bishops Dupanloup, Strossmayer, and Hefe. *Vide ante*, p. 186.

Talking to me yesterday, Count Beust spoke about the match tax as one on which he had long set his mind.¹ He was bitter against Turkey for her recent conduct and ingratitude.

May 6.—After breakfast St. John came, and we went to the Cabinet of Antiquities in the Palace, and to the Jewel House. Only an hour is allowed for seeing the latter, which is insufficient. The collection is magnificent. Then to the upper floor of the Belvedere, which is rich in old Flemish and German masters.

The Lyttons called on us, and sat some time.

We dined at Lord Bloomfield's:² Count Beust, Count Andrassy (the Hungarian Premier), Mme. Minghette, Comtesse Czernin, M. de Mosbourg (the late French Minister here), Mr. and Mrs. Lytton, and Mr. St. John.

Talked a good deal to Count Andrassy, who, like Count Czernin, has the greatest admiration for England and English institutions; but had a good deal to learn on some questions. I explained to him the method of the appointment of our bishops, and the law about entails and trusts. He told me that in Hungary a man can absolutely dispose of his property by will, that there are no settlements, except "majorats," which require only the Emperor's sanction; but that in Austria the power of testamentary disposition is limited to half one's property. It would be interesting to study the state of this question with reference to the existing laws of countries where the Code Napoleon does not prevail.

From Vienna they went to Venice by Innsbruck, enjoying a glimpse of Salzburg by the way.

We are charmed with Salzburg, . . . the hotel is very good, the town clean, and the views superb. I imagine that three weeks might be well spent here.

Venice appeared more prosperous since the liberation.

At the bankers' they told me commercial matters had not much improved since the annexation to Italy, but that latterly a great many strangers had come to Venice and spent money. They seemed singularly ignorant of facts and of political economy, telling me that the paper

¹ A great demonstration had been made against Mr. Lowe's proposal for such an impost, and the proposal withdrawn.

² The British Ambassador.

currency was seventy million francs (it is really seven hundred and fifty millions), and that the cause of distress was its insufficiency! Paper is only at five discount, and yet no silver is to be seen, hardly a half-franc piece. I have not yet seen twenty or thirty centime notes as in 1863 and 1866, but fifty centime notes are universal. There is, however, an air of freedom and business at Venice which was not before, the shops being more full and numerous, and the hotels, I should think, doubled in number and accommodation.

While at Florence he visited the Spezzia Dockyard and Arsenal.

We then went on board the *Re Galantuomo*. Every year she receives about six hundred men of the conscription for seven months' training. This was just concluded; we saw the exercise, which appeared good.

Of Ravenna he recorded:—

The frescoes of the fifth and sixth centuries are *incredible*. I had no idea of their perfection; and the remains of tombs, etc., most interesting. Cardinal Wiseman's description and comparison with Rome are not at all overdrawn.

From Florence they went by Como to the Valteline, and spent the months of July and August at the Baths of Bormio, at the foot of the Stelvio Pass. Mr. Childers's health improved so much here that, in September, they turned their faces homewards, travelling leisurely through Bavaria to Ammergau, where the *Passion Play* was being performed.

September 17.—It (the play) lasted from eight to nearly five, with one hour's interruption. Our expectations were far more than fulfilled, the style of the performance and the reverent manner being beyond all praise. The best characters are the Christus, Virgin Mary, Judas, Caiaphas, and Pilate. The first is admirable throughout, especially in the *Gethsemane* scene, and the *Last Supper*. The Virgin is also very good, far better than Mary Magdalene. Of the most affecting scenes the deposition is perhaps the

best. Some of the tableaux, such as the Jonah, are very imperfect. The audience behaved generally with great reverence, there being perfect silence during the representations, but often a buzz of approval afterwards.

On the way from Stuttgart to Dresden they visited Heilbronn—

Where the mayor was most attentive, and insisted on talking to us about Gotz Von Berlichingen and Goethe; he said it was now quite certain that the former was always a good friend to Heilbronn, and died in his bed! Goethe stayed at Heilbronn on his way to Italy, and our informant saw him.

At Dresden I called on Mr. Barnby, our Minister, who talked to me for some time. He has clearly nothing to do, and not much even to observe. He expects the abolition of the Saxon Foreign Office, which must, I should think, be followed by his own. Count Andrew Bernstorff called, and brought me a letter from his father,¹ with introductions at Berlin. Spent three hours in the Dresden Gallery, which we greatly enjoyed. Now that I have seen all the six great galleries of Europe, I feel as if I had some knowledge of art. The Holbein Madonna is disappointing, but, on the whole, I was greatly pleased, and glad we had come here.

October 30.—Went with Colonel² and Mrs. Fraser to the Green Vault, where we spent nearly two hours. The great diamond necklace and pearls were perhaps the most marvellous. Then to the china and porcelain in the Japanese Palace. The Chinese and Japanese ware alone cost (last century) three million thalers; besides which there are endless rooms full of old Dresden. The wealth of these Saxon electors must have been illimitable, and their treasures escaped both Frederick the Great and Napoleon.

A visit to Berlin was a fitting climax to a tour through Europe in the year 1871. Here Mr. Childers conversed with the German Emperor, and met most of the members of the German Court.

¹ Count Bernstorff, German Ambassador in London.

² Colonel (afterwards General) Keith Fraser, at that time Military Attaché at Vienna.

The King will ask me to dinner, and the Crown Prince wished to see me. Prince Adalbert¹ asked me a great many questions about our policy, especially retirement, numbers and amount of shipbuilding. He said he concurred with us in all, but he had doubts about the number of lieutenants (600). He was very kind personally about the *Captain*. The Crown Prince received me for an hour and a half, talking on all kinds of questions. I asked him about C.'s² joining the Prussian army as a volunteer for a year, and he has promised to see if it can be done. He is the most amiable and pleasant of men, and I quite understand his popularity.

November 9.—Drove with General Walker³ to Spandau, and very thoroughly inspected the gun-factory. What I noticed most was the admirable arrangement of the workshops, and the small amount of superintendence required. We called in the afternoon on the Rederns, and met there Comtesse Bismarck, the daughter, in mourning for her grandfather.

November 12.—Dined *en famille* with Bismarck, his daughter, two sons, nephews (Arnim), etc. Stayed some time after dinner. He talked to me about strikes chiefly. The daughter very pleasant.

Bunsen came to say good-bye, and sat till late.

Next day they left Berlin for Hamburg, and, in company with Capt. Goodenough, R.N., Mr. Childers saw the dockyards at Kiel and Wilhelmshafen, and afterwards visited Essen.

From his Wife to their Son, Spencer.

Between OLDENBURG and MUNSTER, *November 17, 1871.*

Bismarck came back to Berlin on Saturday, and your father went to a little family dinner with him on Sunday. It was satisfactory to see him in this way, no other stranger being there. . . . All Tuesday was spent in Admiralty

¹ Prince Adalbert of Prussia.

² His eldest son, Charles.

³ General Sir Beauchamp Walker, K.C.B., Military Attaché, afterwards Director-General of Military Education.

functioning, inspecting the dockyard, etc. (at Kiel). We went in a gunboat to Friedrichsal to see their fortifications, which had been almost entirely run up in six weeks, after the war of last year began. They were perfectly unprepared for any attack, and they suddenly got a telegram from Berlin: "War declared! The French will probably try and get in at Kiel. *Keep them out!*" Captain Goodenough is with us; he had just arrived in Berlin, as Naval Attaché, and was glad to come round to these places with us. . . . At Hamburg a magnificent new church is being built by Gilbert Scott (who was the architect of Doncaster church). . . . Yesterday we went to Wilhelmshafen, and spent the day "admiralting" again. It was quite a new place, but they are making a splendid dockyard, hospital, officers' houses, etc. They showed us their first (home made) iron-clad which they are building with great pride. The *King William* and *Crown Prince* which we built for them were lying there. Your father has succeeded in getting leave to see Krupp's works at Essen. You know he never misses a chance of getting information and improving his mind.

Mr. Krupp's manager showed them over the works.

We went into every part, engine and gun, and received the fullest explanations, and many particulars of the greatest interest. . . . We also saw the Museum, with all breech-loading steel guns from the first, also the anti-balloon gun throwing a shot or shell of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb.

Two days later the travellers reached Brussels, and so by Ostend to London, "glad to be home at last."

On his return to England, and to public life, Mr. Childers met with a warm welcome from political friends and opponents alike. He took his seat behind the front bench, and gave his former colleagues a full support. An interregnum in the office of Agent-General for his old colony happening at this time, he was asked by the Victorian Premier, Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Gavan Duffy to officiate in the interim; and for nearly a year he carried on the duties. His correspondence at this time with Mr.

Duffy, and afterwards with Mr. Francis, shows how clearly he foresaw the advantages, and how confidently he looked forward to the establishment of the Federation of the Australian colonies.

To Mr. (afterwards Sir C.) Gavan Duffy.

March 22, 1872.

. . . Home news I have not much for you. One after another the breakers ahead of Mr. Gladstone's Government have been steered past, more or less cleverly. But *Alabama* looms in the distance, and looks more ugly than ever. It is a lamentable pity that, while we are ready to pay all that America really expected, we cannot agree on a form of receipt!

In matters personal to me, you will, I know, be pleased to see the result of the *Megara* inquiry, and the opening Navy debates. I have in reserve some curious stories to tell, and this is so well known that I am as yet more praised than attacked. I expect, however, some more serious sparring after Easter.

The Thanksgiving Day¹ was the most truly national act of this generation; and the result on the Monarchy will be, I think, very important. I regretted the injudicious and unworthy demeanour of the House of Commons *re* Sir C. Dilke. The cock-crower was that discreet Irish Baronet, —, at the suggestion of the still more discreet Sir —! . . .

Sir Charles Dilke had moved for an inquiry into the manner in which the income and allowances of the Crown were expended. The Prince of Wales had at this time only just recovered from his dangerous illness, and an outburst of loyalty had followed: no moment could, therefore, have been more unseasonable for bringing forward such a subject. When Mr. Auberon Herbert rose to second the motion, a hideous din arose.² Mr. Childers

¹ For the restoration of the Prince of Wales to health.

² "The Speaker of the House of Commons is usually an omnipotent authority. But on this occasion the Speaker was literally powerless. There was no authority which could overawe that House. . . . They

used to relate how one old member who had been in the House in the days of the first Reform Bill, exclaimed: "Oh, this is nothing to what we used to do!" and, to illustrate his meaning, went behind the Speaker's chair and crowed loudly like a cock.

To Mr. (afterwards Sir Redmond) Barry.

March 22, 1872.

. . . I know nothing except from your letter about the recent decision of your National Gallery Committee. The bringing of Ruskin and Herbert together is one of the most remarkable events in the history of art!

I have not much to tell you that you will not have read in the papers. We are full of scandal, from Tichborne downwards. The "claimant" is still believed in by those who have lost money by him, some of whom are going to lose more.¹ As to the Dilke debate, it will be a standing reproach to the House of Commons. . . .

To Mr. (afterwards Sir C.) Gavan Duffy.

April 19, 1872.

I congratulate you very sincerely on Sir James Martin's defeat;² not only because it must be personally gratifying to you, but because, to my mind, it will do more for

roared, hissed, gesticulated; the shrill 'cockcrow,' unheard in the House of Commons for a whole generation, shrieked once more in the ears of bewildered officials."—Justin McCarthy's "Short History of our Own Times."

¹ During the trial of the Tichborne claimant the defendant alleged that the *Osprey* arrived in Melbourne in July, 1854, with the crew of the shipwrecked *Bella* on board; but owing to the gold fever, confusion and neglect prevailed to such an extent that no record was made at the Custom House, or Lloyd's, of the arrival of the vessel. Mr. Childers having been at the time (1854) head of the Customs Department in Melbourne, was called as a witness, and his recollections proved to be greatly at variance with the claimant's statements.

² Sir James Martin's Ministry in New South Wales was defeated and succeeded by that of Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Parkes. In November, 1873, Mr. Parkes appointed Sir James Chief Justice of the Colony.

co-operation between the colonies, and ultimately for Federation, than any single event I remember since your speech in 1866.

I have seen Lord Kimberley¹ more than once, and I have had some very interesting conversation with him: on all questions I think the tone of the Colonial Office and the Government is satisfactory.

Lord Kimberley told me that he was very anxious to see in Australia, what we find in Canada (and markedly in the States where so much of the old Colonial feeling exists), men who, after a question has been warmly discussed, and even after apparently the country is committed to a particular line of action, are ready gravely to weigh the latest arguments, and are not afraid of the taunt of inconsistency, when satisfied that at first the action taken may have been on an imperfect appreciation of possible results. I told him that I felt sure that this would be precisely the bent of your mind, and that I believed you would do much to form a school of Colonial statesmanship of a far higher order than any we have hitherto had. At the same time I told Lord Kimberley that, if he shared the fears which the permanent Colonial Office are supposed to entertain as to the *legereté* with which the Colonies treat questions tending to provoke discussions as to the Imperial connection, I believed that he would find himself mistaken.

You will, I think, see the drift of all this. Lord Kimberley thoroughly appreciates the position which Victoria, under your guidance, is taking, and the recent changes in the *personnel* at the head of the permanent office are very favourable to the sound treatment of large questions; but these traditions cannot be got rid of in a day. . . .

Dr. Fetherstone was with me the other day, and asked what I thought of a movement to secure one or two colonial judges being members of the new Court of Appeal, should Lord Hatherley's views be adopted.² I did

¹ Secretary of State for the Colonies.

² Lord Hatherley had proposed in 1871 to authorize her Majesty to appoint two persons (ex-judges of any High Court of Judicature in India, or ex-legal member on Council of Governor-General) to be members of the Judicial Committee; also, any of the following persons, not exceeding two: ex-Judges of Supreme Court of her Majesty's possessions other than India, or barristers of fifteen years' standing. The last two qualifications were omitted from the Bill

not commit myself to any opinion, the real difficulty to my mind being that if the Crown is enabled to appoint any colonial judge of a certain standing to the Court of Appeal there may be the risk of some one being taken from a small Crown colony, as these are the only judges of whom the Colonial Office or the Lord Chancellor know anything. On the other hand, if the choice is limited to the Supreme Courts of the larger colonies, it will be invidious to draw the line. Stawell or Stephen would make admirable members of the Court, but the Colonial Office would naturally be more interested in judges at Sierra Leone or Trinidad. . . .

The Government are doing somewhat better, and there is a very general impression that the *Alabama* question *may* be settled. If anything definite should occur in time to telegraph by this steamer from Galle, I presume that you will think the news worth the expense.

Dizzy's great speech at Manchester has produced absolutely no effect. But there is a sensible Conservative reaction in the country, and neither a good Budget nor a reasonable Licensing Bill (nothing could have been more damaging than Bruce's last year) have as yet checked it. The Education discussions have markedly injured the Dissenters, and strengthened the Church of England; and Sir Massey Lopes's¹ success last Tuesday is, I think, evidence of general dissatisfaction with the conduct of Government in not having attempted to solve the knotty problem of how to put Local Government on an intelligible basis. I do not quite go with Gladstone on this. I have long felt that the want of what the French call an "administration" in England and Scotland is really a crying evil, and that it must be taken up by the Liberal party. There are a hundred means of making the question an eminently popular one.

I had the misfortune to have to speak and vote against Government last night, on a clause which they adopted in the Ballot Bill to punish an elector with three months' imprisonment if he showed his vote in the polling booth; and I quoted your last Electoral Act. Can you tell me if the case has ever arisen in Victoria?

which passed. On the 15th of April, 1872, he brought forward a more comprehensive scheme, which was shelved. At last the principle (of appointing Australian judges) was recognized in Lord Rosebery's Act of 1895.

¹ M.P. for South Devon.

I am going to-morrow to Edward Wilson,¹ and I shall probably hear a good deal about Australian meat! I suppose that the trade, like all others, will do best without any Government interference; but, for the credit of the colony, it is very desirable that inferior processes should be somehow discouraged. Already a good deal of trash has got into the market. The question is engaging an unusual amount of interest all over the country.

To the Same.

June 14, 1872.

. . . I am sending you out the correspondence in connection with the work of the Intercolonial Conference. I have hardly had time to read it, and you are receiving my only copy. I hope, however, that in your mind, as in mine, all will appear to tend towards federation, rather than special differential duties or engagements with other countries. I foresee endless trouble and little good from the latter, unmitigated advantage from the former. I think the public mind is ripe for it; and the present time is, *quoad* officials, very opportune.

You will, I hope, like Mr. Hugessen's² speech in the Colonial debate in our House—the only redeeming feature of a dreary discussion, where the speakers were the only hearers.

Sir James McCulloch³ has arrived, looking very well, and attended our last Emigration Board. He has gone for ten days to Scotland. I shall show him every attention.

The Washington Treaty controversy drags on, and one is so weary of it that I can hardly write patiently. To-morrow will be critical. I hear this afternoon that matters look more satisfactory. I think this tolerably certain, that since last February our Government has made no mistakes, and that, on the contrary, since the United States Government made their amazing *volte face*, and became as keen for the rights of neutrals as they had been for belligerents, the difficulty in keeping them within bounds has been incredible. Brag is a good dog, but Holdfast is a better.

There is not much other news except Keogh's⁴ judgment on the Galway election. He has contrived, by

¹ Part proprietor of the Melbourne *Argus*, who resided at this time at Hayes, near Bromley.

² Under Secretary for the Colonies, afterwards Lord Brabourne.

³ *Vide* note on p. 216.

⁴ Mr. Justice Keogh gave his decision on the Galway election on

using Billingsgate in a case where judicial language was specially necessary, to lose the best opportunity we have had for many years of really striking a blow at clerical and landlord influence. We shall have, I expect, some ineffectual prosecutions, and, I fear, some violence.

To the Same.

July 12, 1872.

. . . There has been nothing of Colonial interest in the House. I have not heard the result of the Committee of the Lords on the Court of Appeal Bill.¹

The settlement of the Washington Treaty question has made Government safe for this year, and Parliament is expected to be up in about four weeks from to-day. We shall have an excited debate about Keogh's judgment, but I hear of nothing else. The Ballot question is finally settled; and I heard Forster say an hour ago that we had good security for its working well, as practically the Victoria ballot had been adopted almost without change. I have scrupulously abstained from blowing our trumpet about this; though I might have done so, for the scrutiny clause was my own individual suggestion in 1855-56.

This has been, on the whole, a very productive session. Scotch Education, the Ballot, Mines Regulation, the Sanitary Act, are a good budget of large questions. . . .

To Mr. (afterwards Sir) John O'Shanassy.

8, VICTORIA CHAMBERS, *September 4, 1872.*

I will, with pleasure, speak to Lord Kimberley in the sense of your note. The Colonial Office has of late wonderfully improved in its knowledge of the real opinions

May 27, 1872, unseating Captain Nolan, and reporting the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishops of Galway and Clonfert, and a number of priests as guilty of intimidation. The judgment, which excited the keenest feeling throughout Ireland, occupied nine hours. The judge was most severely attacked in the *Nation*. On leaving Dublin for Longford assizes on July 9, his train was (for his protection) preceded by a pilot engine and two carriages containing a number of soldiers. At intermediate stations policemen were under arms, but there was no demonstration. A large force of cavalry, infantry, and police awaited the arrival of the train, and the judges proceeded to their lodgings under a strong escort.

¹ The appointment of the Committee had the effect of shelving the Bill.

of the colonies, but the Old Adam lurks still under its roof. It is ineffably amusing to watch the varying tone of great men, who, knowing nothing, and not caring very much, about the past Colonial controversy, hazard opinions to catch the popular breeze of the moment. There was rather a dull debate¹ in the middle of the session about the Colonies, in which the old indifferent tone was somewhat abandoned; especially by the representative of the Colonial Office. Strange to say, Mr. Disraeli at the Crystal Palace startled us all by having a 'Colonial policy, which would have had a national tariff and power over the Crown lands! To go back to Mr. Latrobe's case was bad enough, but tea and the Boston riots had, it would seem, never been heard of.

The most objectionable declaration of the International Conference (in which Victoria, I think, did not concur) had the advantage of being all but unintelligible; or, at least, vague enough to mean opposite things.

You will have heard that I am again in the Cabinet, and only acting as Colonial Agent till my successor is appointed. . . .

The last sentence in the foregoing letter refers to the fact that in August of this year (1872) Lord Dufferin was appointed Governor-General of Canada, resigning his office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and opportunity was taken to bring Mr. Childers back into the Cabinet, his health being now thoroughly re-established. Curiously enough, his re-election at Pontefract was the occasion of the first parliamentary election by ballot in England (August, 15, 1872).

To Mr. Gavan Duffy.

August 9, 1872.

. . . Thank you for your information about the ballot. I was, oddly enough, the first (and in my first speech) to explain the Victorian ballot in the House of Commons in 1860;² my name was on the back of the Bill of 1870; the Bill of 1872 was not for the Victorian ballot, but Parliament insisted on it; and mine is the first election under it!

¹ On the motion of Mr. Macfie to give the colonies Imperial Representation.

² *Vide ante*, p. 93.



THE MINI

(Mr. Childers has just joined the Ministry as Chief Secretary by Lord Dufferin as the "odd man" of the Government the shortest notice.)

CARDWELL: "Good-bye, Childers ;

GOSCHEN: "Yes, and of course you

BRUCE: "And be sure you don't ha

AVRTON: "And mind you're polite and gentlemanly—d'you hear?"

LOWE: "And, above all things, take care of the money."

GLADSTONE: "And remember there are always three courses open to you!"

[Exeunt.

From *Punch*, August 17, 1872.

[To face p. 212, Vol. I.

Fursa, Tamara Georgievna.

(Академик П. В. Ломоносов)

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The Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster is an ancient and dignified office, about which many people know little more than that it was once described by Lord Dufferin as the situation of the ministerial "maid-of-all-work." Of late years, its constitution, which dates from the reign of Edward the Third, has undergone considerable alterations, but many of its archaic rights still subsist. The Duchy is still governed by the Chancellor, who can summon his Council to his aid; the Vice-Chancellor still exercises the same jurisdiction in the County Palatine as the High Court of Chancery does elsewhere, with an appeal; and in 1872 (when Mr. Childers held the office), appeals were still made to the Chancellor, who sat in the Duchy office with the two Lords Justices.

After the passing of the Judicature Act in 1873, the Queen gave up this and some other of her ancient rights, but the Duchy still appoints the High Sheriff and all the magistrates and County Court Judges of the County Palatine. To this day all the documents on Duchy matters pass under its two great seals;¹ and, subject to certain curtailments of power, the procedure remains very much as it was in the time of John of Gaunt.

To Sir George Verdon.

October 3, 1872.

. . . I hope you like your bank work.² You would be amused if you saw the formalities of my office (the Duchy of Lancaster), unchanged since the time of Richard the Second! . . .

The property of the Duchy, formerly confined to Lancashire, is now spread over ten different counties chiefly in the north and east; in London it includes the site of the ancient Palace of the Savoy, close to Waterloo

¹ The Duchy possesses a third seal, which, up to 1872, used to be attached to all cheques.

² Sir G. Verdon, formerly Treasurer of Victoria, was now manager of the English, Scottish, and Australian Chartered Bank.

Bridge [the approach to which is named Lancaster Place]. The chapel of the Savoy is still the Duchy chapel, and already for five or six years Mr. Childers had been a regular attendant here; the chaplain of that time had been an intimate personal friend, and as long as the Rev. Henry White lived, Mr. Childers continued to attend at the little "Royal peculiar" off the Strand. The congregation in those days was a remarkable one, the regular attendants, Sunday after Sunday, including political leaders of both sides, Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Goschen, Lord Ripon and Lord Glenesk (then Mr. Borthwick); occasionally, Lord Salisbury and Lord Granville. The theatrical world sent a large contingent, among them Mr. (not yet Sir) Henry Irving, and the then well-known Vokes family; these, with the tradespeople and lodging-house keepers who resided within the Savoy precincts, formed the congregation—the diverse elements of which were held together by the remarkable personality of Mr. Henry White, who prided himself on the sort of freemasonry which he had succeeded in establishing and which united his "Savoyards," as he delighted to call his flock. It was not a "fashionable" congregation, and he was not what is generally understood by the term "a popular preacher;" his sermons were always free from political or controversial topics. The services were simply though carefully and beautifully arranged; it was a most devout congregation, and Mr. White's intensely sympathetic nature seemed to inspire his hearers with his own spiritual earnestness.

To Sir George Verdon.

October 31, 1872.

. . . There is a great deal of excitement about S. Juan,¹

¹ The small island of San Juan, near Vancouver Island, had for years been in joint occupation by England and United States. The German Emperor, to whom the matter was referred under the Treaty of Washington, decided in favour of the American claim, and the island was evacuated by England at the close of 1873.

far more than, in my opinion, the case demands. The Emperor's decision is, I think, morally right, though technically there can be little doubt that the only channel known by the negotiation of the Ashburton treaty was the one we set up. But all we intended to secure was Vancouver Island.

You will be glad to see how successful *Devastation* is.

*To Hon. J. G. Francis.*¹

November 1, 1872.

. . . I had hoped to hear from you on the important question of the Emigration Staff of this office, in reply to my July letter; but I presume that what I proposed was considered satisfactory.

There is a good deal of sensation just now on Colonial subjects, but nothing specially affecting Victoria about which I could write officially. Your reply to Lord Kimberley's temperate and (as I told your predecessor) *very carefully written* despatch, will have good effect, and, speaking from the point of view I have taken for the last twenty years, I should hope would facilitate federation.

But the Colonial matter about which the public are most excited just now is the German Emperor's decision giving S. Juan to the United States. The intemperate language of the *Times* has done great mischief, as the article is most erroneously supposed to be "inspired." The question itself is, to my mind, of far less importance than is usually supposed, and I confess I do not see, when the United States refused any compromise, that the Emperor's decision was wrong.

You have, I dare say, noticed the admirable manner in which Mr. Hugessen treats Colonial questions. His lecture on the Colonies has attracted considerable attention, and I think its tone cannot fail to be satisfactory. I send it to you officially. . . .

To the Same.

December 27, 1872.

My public letters and the minutes of the Board of Advice give you such full information of what has passed

¹ James Goodall Francis was a business man of great integrity in Melbourne; he was Commissioner of Trade and Customs, 1863-68; Treasurer, 1870-71; Premier, June, 1872, to July, 1874; died, 1884.

during the present *interim* that I need not write to you privately at any length.

Both Sir J. MacCulloch¹ and I have been from day to day anxiously waiting to know your decision as to the Agency. Suspense is, especially at this time of the year, the most inconvenient condition of all ; to me, as I have a good deal to do before Parliament meets, which I cannot sit down to until I know whether I have to hand over this office ; and to him, both on account of the shortness of his stay and of his father's serious illness.

I am sorry that your Government do not concur with me as to the expediency of all your business here being done through the Agency. But whoever permanently succeeds me will be able to form a better opinion on such a question than I can. My own view is that the Agent-General should be located as your Ambassador and Consul-General ; the Governor being in the same relation to the Imperial Government, with the addition of certain legislative and (in a limited sense) executive powers. Thus your Agent should know everything which goes from the colony to Downing Street, *except the confidential despatches* ; and should be your representative for the negotiation of all matters either in Downing Street or elsewhere in this country. Had it not been for my connection with the present Cabinet, I should have known nothing of the telegram you sent to the Colonial Office about postal matters two months ago ; and this omission would have made your Agent look very foolish in dealing with the representatives of other colonies, who are, to my knowledge, kept very fully informed of the views of their Governments. Half the secret of the good understanding with the Dominion is the admirable manner in which they are represented here by Sir John Rose,² who is treated with as much confidence, both by the Colonial Government and the Colonial Office, as if he were a formally accredited Minister. The Colonial Office thoroughly appreciate the

¹ Sir James McCulloch, four times Premier of Victoria, including the period of the fierce conflict between the two Houses, and the Darling grant.

² Sir John Rose, first baronet, had been the first Minister of Finance in the Dominion Parliament ; was now its unofficial representative. He was instrumental in the settlement of the *Alabama* claims and the Washington Treaty ; he had also helped to organize the Militia and defence of the Dominion.

advantages of this, and the Colonial governors, who were at first very jealous of the Agents in London, now see this differently.

I am anxiously looking for your telegram about the Exhibition. The Prince of Wales takes the greatest interest in this particular question, and he is, as you know, chairman of both commissions. . . .

Seven years before (November 1, 1865), Mr. Childers had sent to Mr. Duffy a memorandum on the duties of Colonial Agents-General, which it may not be out of place to insert here.

*Memorandum on the Duties of a Colonial Agent-General
(sent to Mr. Duffy on November 1, 1865).*

The functions of an Agent for a colony having a Parliamentary Government should be both those of a Minister and of a Consul.

He should, in the first place, have general authority to enter upon negotiations with the Imperial Government, or other public bodies, and special powers to make agreements in accordance with instructions. This power to make agreements would greatly expedite many matters which now are the subject of protracted and unsatisfactory correspondence, *e.g.* postal and telegraphic contracts; arrangements as to share of military or naval expenditure, etc., etc. The other negotiations which are much better carried on in London than between a governor and the colony on the spot relate to subjects requiring the passing of Acts of Parliament; appointments to special offices, which should be filled by selection in the United Kingdom, etc., etc.

In order to enable the Agent to transact his business satisfactorily, he should be advised of the nature of all despatches to and from the Colonial Office (unless of a confidential character not communicated to the Colonial Ministers), and should be carefully kept informed of all public matters of importance passing in the colony. It would be his duty in the same way to obtain and communicate to the Colonial Government the best information of public matters likely to be of interest to the colony.

In his consular capacity the Agent should have charge of all the business transactions of the colony in the

United Kingdom. All moneys raised or expended here should pass through his hands: and it should be necessary that he should give ample security for fidelity; and that precise regulations should be given to him as to his accounts, and the manner of rendering them. He should keep an account at the Bank of England and draw upon it; being required to invest all beyond a certain balance in prescribed securities. Any further restrictions would be useless, and indeed mischievous; especially the associating with him of any merchants or financial agents, whose check would be utterly illusory.

The business which he would have to transact would be—

1. Emigration. Possibly at first an arrangement might be made under which he might have the benefit of the experiences of the Park Street Commissioners, but ultimately it might come entirely into his hands.

2. Purchases of all kinds for Government departments.

3. Payment of dividends and principal of loans. But the actual payments should be made by the Bank of England, who would agree to do this at a very moderate cost; and the credit of the colony would be much enhanced if its dividends were paid there.

4. Raising loans. But in this respect the Bank of England would render much assistance.

5. Giving information and advice to colonists; finding persons not heard of by their friends; protecting friendless colonists in difficulties; identifying official and other signatures.

6. Receiving from the colony, and keeping for inspection and reference, newspapers and parliamentary and other public papers; the want of such a place being much felt.

I think it should be understood that the Agent is appointed for a period of five (renewable to ten) years, and that he would not be removed during the five years unless his conduct were unsatisfactory. He would thus not go out with every change of Colonial Ministry.

If he is expected to be decently hospitable to colonists, and to be in a position (socially) to assist them in public matters, I think his salary should not be less than £2000 a year.

Mr. Childers held the appointment of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Paymaster-General of the Forces, from August, 1872, for exactly a year, and



THE CHAPEL ROYAL, SAVOY.

[To face p. 218, Vol. I.]

resigned it at the time of the shuffle of the Ministerial cards in the autumn of 1873, in circumstances about which there has been considerable mystery. The late Lord Selborne, in his "Memoirs," has referred to the probable reasons which decided Mr. Gladstone suddenly and unexpectedly to dissolve Parliament. Some additional light is thrown on this by the following entry in the Journal of Mr. Childers's second wife, dated March 19, 1879.

Hugh told me that he always considered the cause of Mr. Gladstone having to dissolve was his not having made him Chancellor of the Exchequer. The story was as follows: Mr. Lowe, whom Hugh had on more than one occasion stoutly opposed in the Cabinet, agreed to resign the Exchequer. Just at this time Hugh was about to resign the Duchy of Lancaster, having always said that he could not conscientiously hold it as a sinecure longer than for a year, during which time he could put things connected with it in good order. Mr. Gladstone, on Mr. Lowe's proposed transfer to the Home Office from the Exchequer, said to Hugh he was making some arrangements which he thought would be pleasing to him, and Hugh knew this meant that he intended to make him Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to give Mr. Bright the Duchy. Mr. Lowe, however, would not hear of this; and so Gladstone asked Hugh again if he still kept to what he said about the Duchy. Hugh said, "Yes," he had always been opposed to sinecures, and could not hold it now he had completed what work there was to do. Then Mr. Gladstone said he was very sorry, but he had failed in making the arrangement he had proposed; and Hugh said, "Oh, let me go out, rather than have any 'split in the Cabinet.'" So he went out, and Mr. Gladstone took the Chancellorship of the Exchequer without vacating his seat, and got so worried and bothered about this, knowing that all sorts of attacks would be made upon him, that he forestalled them by dissolving.

Be this as it may, Mr. Gladstone suddenly resolved on dissolution, with results disastrous to the Liberal party. Mr. Childers retained his seat, but in the new Parliament the Liberals were in a minority of above fifty. Following

the precedent of 1868, Mr. Gladstone resigned before the meeting of Parliament, and Mr. Disraeli formed his Second Administration.

To his Wife.

NICE, February 11, 1874.

Gladstone is well beaten, and Dizzy in for a Parliament at least. Some day, perhaps, Gladstone will recognize his mistake in August. It is clear to me that he would not have dissolved but for the question about the double office.

Please tell the Duchess¹ that when I first heard of the dissolution I predicted a minority of forty; that I thought the *time* a proper one enough, but I did not like a prospective Budget being made the War Cry; that I think we are out for four or five years, but that a war or a great fall in wages will lead to a reaction, perhaps of a serious character; that I, individually, am no longer on the front bench, and shall not be factious, but, I hope, consistent.

PARIS.

Yesterday I went to the Hotel Bristol and had a good deal of talk with the Comte d'Harcourt, whom we met, a prisoner, in 1870. Then I dined at the Maison Dorée, and went afterwards to the Variétés to hear "l'Oncle Sam"—a very absurd skit at the Americans, but most amusing. This morning I called on Milner-Gibson,² with whom I have been walking about. I met the Lyttons just now, and called on Zobrowski, who asked me to dine.

I like the new Government, which is chosen with great skill. Hunt at the Admiralty will be a *friend*. Hardy³ is good for the War Office, and Northcote and Smith will make a strong Treasury.

HOTEL BRISTOL, February 20, 1874.

So Gladstone has given up the lead; and Cardwell's going to the Peers leaves the lead to be settled between Lowe, Forster, and Goschen.⁴ I dare say, it may be Goschen, unless Whitbread⁵ should be equal to it.

¹ Dowager Duchess of Somerset, a great friend of Mrs. Childers.

² Right Hon. T. Milner-Gibson, formerly President of the Board of Trade.

³ Right Hon. Gathorne Hardy, now Earl of Cranbrook.

⁴ Who had succeeded Mr. Childers at the Admiralty. Now Viscount Goschen.

⁵ Samuel Whitbread, then M.P. for Bedford.

Later.

After writing to you this morning I called at the Embassy, and had a long talk to Lord Lyons, and then went to Versailles with the Embassy ticket for the Assembly, and asked for my old college friend, Waddington,¹ who was Minister of Education under Thiers. We walked up and down the Salle des Pas Perdus² for an hour, and I went for about as much into the House. Dull debate. Went to dinner at Lord Lyons's, meeting Philip Stanhope,³ just out from England, who told me the news, though a good deal was different in the *Times* just come. A pleasant party of eight and I went to Madame Thiers' (who dozed as usual), but I got some chat with Thiers.

I wonder whether (1) Gladstone intends to come to the House; (2) if so, where he will sit; and (3) who will be leader. At the Embassy, Philip Stanhope said that Hartington was spoken of as an *ad interim* leader; but he is so nearly equal to any one else in claims for leadership, that I doubt his consenting to be a stop-gap.

In the new Disraeli Government Sir Stafford Northcote became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Ward Hunt First Lord of the Admiralty; the latter astounded the country by the statement he made on moving the Navy Estimates, that we had a phantom fleet, paper ships, and dummy guns. This alarmist statement he subsequently greatly modified, if he did not entirely withdraw it; and it was during the debate to which it gave rise that Mr. Childers made a speech on the Naval Power of England, and as to the standard of efficiency we had set up for keeping that Fleet up to the requirements of the nation.

"For many years," he said, "the Admiralty had been lamentably deficient as to anything like a foreseeing policy in ship-building. In fact, every Board of Admiralty seems in each year to have framed a new scheme, sometimes greatly increasing, and sometimes greatly decreasing the amount of work proposed to be done; and this could only result in waste and inefficiency. Take, for instance,

¹ Afterwards French Ambassador.

² At the Palais de Justice.

³ Afterwards M.P. for Wednesbury, more recently for Burnley.

the five years previous to the change which we effected. What, in a business point of view, can be worse than the following figures? In 1864-65, 18,952 tons of shipping were built in the dockyards; in 1865-66, 12,497; in 1866-67, 14,142; in 1867-68, 24,177; in 1868-69, 14,076. No man of business could carry on economically or with efficiency an establishment from which such fluctuating work was demanded.¹ To use Sir Spencer Robinson's words: 'These changes, these sudden expansions and sudden reductions, all point to a want of system; they have occasioned great distress, and are far from producing economical results. The sudden increase of workmen in October and equally sudden enforced decrease in April were proofs of injudicious management.' I quote these words from no party motive, but as illustrating a general fault we hoped to cure.

"We therefore determined to consider how many tons of shipping should be annually added to the Navy; how many men were required for this purpose in the dockyards; how much work it would be reasonable to do outside the yards; and, irrespective of building, what was the average requirement in the way of repair and refit. We came, first, to the conclusion that about 19,500 tons of shipping should be annually built. I listened just now to the figures of my honourable friend, the member for the Tower Hamlets,² who, from a calculation of the life of the ironclads, arrived at a larger tonnage. I think I observed a fallacy in his calculation, but I have not time to discuss that point now. At any rate, we fixed the tonnage which I have named, and nothing can be more satisfactory than the result during the last five years. 19,500 tons a year should have given us during that period 97,500 tons; whereas the actual tonnage built is above 99,000. What is more, the amount built in the dockyards has been nearly uniform from year to year, the figures being 13,271 tons in 1869-70; 13,414 in 1870-71; 14,448 in 1871-72; 13,609 in 1872-73; and 12,904 in 1873-74. The highest and lowest figures only differ by 1500 tons, instead of 12,000 tons, as in the former period.

"But it had become necessary to consider how many men were required for this work. The question was one of considerable difficulty, and was studied for some time in all its bearings by the officers of the Controller's Department. I think it was on the 10th of December,

¹ *Vide* letter to Lord Charles Beresford, *ante*, p. 165. ² Mr. Samuda.

1869, that the Controller of the Navy placed in my hands his first Report, naming 11,271 men as the number which would be sufficient from year to year in time of peace. This recommendation, in the first instance, startled me. Knowing the number of men employed in previous years, I was in doubt whether 11,271 men would be adequate, and I asked the Controller of the Navy and my right honourable friend, the member for Montrose,¹ to go very carefully into the question, and to satisfy themselves that the calculations were correct. They did so, and their answer was, that the number originally named was substantially correct. If honourable members will refer to the paper of the 11th of February, 1870, by Sir Spencer Robinson, which I have already quoted, they will see that, in his opinion, eleven thousand artificers and £625,000 in wages would build the amount required annually in our dockyards, and maintain what was really necessary to maintain. In addition, £200,000 a year was to be spent on four thousand tons of contract-built shipping; and this policy would keep us in a state of ample security, as well as able to perform any work that might be expected from a first-class maritime Power. In fact, to use Sir Spencer Robinson's words, an expenditure of two millions and a half per annum (a million less than the average of 1867-68 and 1868-69), 'if systematically applied from year to year, would ensure our national position as the first maritime Power in the world.' In reading, sir, from this paper, do not let it be imagined that I in the least wish to shift from my own shoulders the entire responsibility for this decision. I say most emphatically that had there been a hundred Controllers' Reports, I, and I alone, am responsible for the decision come to upon them. If that decision was right, those who advised me are entitled to share whatever credit may be due. If it was wrong, I hope that the House will blame myself alone.

"Well, then, let me come to the question which lies at the root of the whole matter. We have heard a great deal in this debate about maintaining our naval strength. What is, and what should be, the naval strength of England? I often hear officers sigh for the old times when there were flying twenty or thirty pennants upon such and such a station, whereas there are only ten now. But I maintain that it is not the duty of the Admiralty to keep up a particular force of ships merely because there were so many in commission in former times. The

¹ Mr. W. E. Baxter, Secretary to the Admiralty, 1868-71.

question is almost wholly a relative one. What we have to decide is not a very abstruse problem: Considering the fleets which are kept up by other nations, including the ships in course of construction or which might be constructed by them, what is the duty of this country, whose maritime pre-eminence I hope we shall all be determined to place beyond doubt? Now, sir, I am aware that it is a delicate matter to institute a comparison between the fleets of this and of other nations, and unless we approach the subject cautiously, confining our observations to undoubted facts, we may cause lasting offence and annoyance abroad. It has, however, been my lot since I ceased to be connected with the Admiralty to be able to devote much time to the study of this question. I have had an opportunity of visiting the naval establishments of other countries, and I have also perused, with much care, the printed papers and debates of other legislatures; and the statements which I am now about to make to the House are based upon public documents only, to which any honourable member who takes as much trouble as I have in the matter, can refer as easily as I have done."

After giving a detailed description of the fleets of Foreign Powers, he concluded:—

"I have given these details to show what our naval position is at the present moment. If we were strong in comparison with other navies four years ago, can there be a doubt of our relative strength now?

"But I will put the matter to the only test which is possible in argument. I am about to state a proposition which, no doubt, will be very carefully criticized, and which I state in order that it may be so criticized. I will state it in moderate language, and yet with the firm belief that I am not in the least exaggerating, or going beyond what is justified by the facts which I have given to the House, I fear in too great detail. My proposition is this: If, which may God avert, we should be, at twenty-four hours' notice, entangled, without an ally, in a war with the three principal maritime Powers, even allowing an ally to them, our strength is such that we should be able to hold our own in the Channel, in our Home seas, in the Mediterranean, and in the Chinese and Colonial waters. Within six months, such is the power of developing a force afloat which this nation possesses, we should have complete

command of the seas, and have ruined our opponents' commerce; and within twelve or fifteen months, at the outside, we should have added so many powerful ships to the Navy as would prevent any enemy's ship from putting to sea, without the certainty of meeting with a superior British force.

"Well, sir, if this proposition be true, and I do not believe it will be refuted, it is unpardonable—and I am compelled to use strong language on the subject—to give to the country and to Europe, in a speech composed for political purposes and replete with party phrases, the disparaging description of the Navy which my right honourable friend proclaimed the other day. I say, sir, that it is unpardonable to create the scare which his speech, his references to dummy ships and paper fleets, produced throughout the country. No doubt it is always easy for a new First Lord to find excuses, and possibly good ones, for spending £100,000 or £200,000 more than his predecessor intended. Let my right honourable friend propose any special items which he thinks his predecessor should have included in the Estimates, and we will discuss them, and, if satisfied, we will vote them; though I confess that I should prefer the method of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who advised the First Lord of the Admiralty to endeavour to provide for his special wants by economies found in other directions, without disturbing the financial position. But I venture to warn him against embarking again upon that most dangerous sea of increased naval and military expenditure. You have a majority of above sixty, and you can do almost anything you like in the present Parliament; but you may be certain that, when the pinch comes, as it undoubtedly will come, the country will lay the blame for higher taxation at your door. Economy may not be in fashion at this time of high wages and luxurious living; but, however temporarily popular, I implore you, I implore the House, to pause before entering on this baneful career. To have added, in a time of profound peace, to the already heavy expenditure on our armaments, will be remembered against you long after the causes of your accession to power have been forgotten. It might be otherwise in troublous times—

'When Fortune, various goddess, lowers,
Collect your strength, exert your powers;
But, when she breathes a kinder gale,
Be wise, and furl your swelling sail.'"

CHAPTER VIII.

IN OPPOSITION.

1874-1880.

In Opposition—American Travels—Canada and Prince Edward Island—Death of his Wife—Correspondence with Sir A. Clarke—Eastern Question—Afghan and Zulu Wars—Second Marriage—Visit to the West Indies.

FOR the next six years (from February, 1874, till April, 1880) the Liberal party was in opposition. Mr. Childers employed most of this time with City business, was elected Chairman of the Great Western Railway of Canada, and presided at the Board of the Royal Mail Steamship Company, in connection with which he made frequent visits to Canada, the United States, and the West Indies.

During the whole of these six years he displayed remarkable activity, both physical and mental, and kept up a singularly detailed correspondence with his old friend Sir Andrew Clarke, who had now become Governor of the Straits Settlement, extracts from which are here given.

NICE, *February 15, 1874.*

When I last wrote I little thought what was going to happen. It was three weeks ago yesterday morning that (being at Lord Houghton's for a week) I read in the *Leeds Mercury* the news of the Dissolution. I had only come down the day before, and had seen Bright for an hour the day before that, without a whisper of what was in contemplation. As to the thing itself, my mind was divided. Personally, to me it was an excellent moment for a dissolution, and a short, sharp canvass; but I felt sure we should lose, and I

prophesied that we should be in a minority of forty. Well, I ran up to town for Sunday, got to Pontefract on Monday, and had a week's fight with the Tories, who luckily did what is very unpopular in the borough, *i.e.* coalesced. So I came in at the head of the poll, 225 above my real opponent, Pollington. They sent down shoals of dockyard placards appealing to working men, but it did me no harm, and indeed I believe I had every shipwright vote, except two.

My prophecy is more than accomplished, and I think the Tory majority will really be over fifty. The present Parliament will last its time, and Dizzy will be clever enough, I expect, not to throw away so large a majority easily.

You will have heard of the Elchos' second loss.¹ They are terribly knocked down. There is no doubt of a successful march to Coomassie. But what then?

February 17, 1874.

As you will have heard, the Tory majority will be just fifty. Our friend Reed² shaved in at Pembroke. The Navy is stronger than for a long time past, having only lost Erskine, and gained Elliot, Edmondstone, and Bedford Pim, all, however, Tories.

March 20, 1874.

As to the Admiralty, I am well satisfied with the new cast, Hunt, Algernon Egerton, and Sir M. Lopes; and Lord Gilford³ is as good a successor to Beauchamp⁴ as could be.

STRASBOURG, April 5, 1874.

I think I told you in my last that I was thinking of taking my boys, Rowland and Francis, for a run abroad during the Easter holidays; and I have contrived to get a clear fortnight. We have been to Rheims, Sedan, Bitche, and Wörth, and we go next week to Metz, Trèves, Coblenz, and Cologne, so they will have had their full of battlefields and cathedrals. It is very interesting seeing

¹ Lord Elcho (now Earl of Wemyss) had lost his eldest son, Francis, in 1870; the second son, Alfred, died at sea in November, 1873, of fever contracted while attached to Sir G. Wolseley's staff in Ashanti.

² Now Sir Edward Reed, M.P. for Cardiff.

³ Now Earl of Clanwilliam.

⁴ Captain Beauchamp Seymour, R.N., C.B. (afterwards Lord Alcester).

these places out of the tourist season, and with guide-books. I am particularly fond of this dear old place, and we spent half to-day (Easter Sunday) in the glorious Cathedral and on its spire.

I have just got yours of the 26th of February. You are quite right about Peel. He had a majority of a hundred in 1841, and was turned out in 1846; the Whigs having a good majority at the subsequent election of 1847. Still, that was solely caused by the great Corn Law question, and there is nothing of the kind in the air now. I give the Tories ten years, if only they are decently prudent, but then they must be firm with their retrograde country gentlemen.

The Germans are fortifying without stint their border strong places, *e.g.*, this and Metz, adding detached forts at great distance, and of incredible strength.

April 17, 1874.

Your note of the 5th of March reached me on my return on Tuesday from a fortnight's ramble with my boys in the border country between France and Germany. We were at Strasburg, Saverne, Phalsburg, Niederbronn, the field of Wörth, the fortress of Bitche, Sarreguemines, Metz, Luxembourg, Trèves, down the Moselle, Coblenz, Cologne, and Aix la Chapelle in Germany; and Rheims, Sedan, and the battlefields west of Metz in France. We were very fortunate in our weather, and saw everything thoroughly. The enormous numbers of mausoleums and pyramids on the battlefields is striking. Alsace is, I think, quite resigned to the change, and recovering fast its prosperity; Lorraine half depopulated and at a low ebb. But the thing will not be undone in our time. The Germans, in spite of religious agitation, are thoroughly united about foreign policy, and are strengthening their works fabulously, building huge polygonal detached forts at six and eight miles from Metz and Strasbourg, neglecting such places as command no passage, and were mere mantraps, like Phalsburg and Bitche. The only new serious frontier work the French contemplate building is at Epinal, though I fancy they are going to raise Toul to the rank of a first-class fortress. Their barrier against Germany will then be Mézières, Longévy, Verdun, Toul, Epinal, and Belfort, with, however, little or nothing behind in the direction of Paris. They are committing (in spite of warnings) the fault of making Paris, not merely strong enough to be the

refuge for an army for three months, and safe against a *coup de main* without a large garrison, but *the* strong place of France : to my mind (though I know nothing of military questions) a fatal mistake.

Meanwhile they are letting their Navy go to pieces (they are barely spending £4,500,000 compared with our £10,000,000), and the country you pass through swarms with recruits, drilling at temporary camps.

I have been asked, and have consented, to become Chairman of the Royal Mail Company, which wants looking after.

May 1, 1874.

You ask me about the Dissolution, what induced it? Of course we are bound to accept Gladstone's reason, *i.e.* the defeats of the Government at the single elections. But I fear that he has persuaded himself that this was his reason. My own strong impression is that his mind was really influenced by the complications about his seat for Greenwich. He had been thinking about nothing else for some time, writing to all sorts of people voluminous arguments, and asking advice. It completely took me by surprise. Both he and Bright had consulted me about Budget questions, and I was amazed at the premature *half* disclosure. I feel confident that if he had waited till April, and then gone to the country with the repeal of the Income Tax and Sugar Duties, the success in Ashanti, and a reasonable *liberal* reform in Local Government, the result would have been very different.

June 25, 1874.

Government made a thorough mess of their Licensing Bill, and I helped the last day to put things a little better ; but otherwise I have had little to do in the House. Gladstone has stayed away, not even telling us his views on important questions.

July 11, 1874.

Gladstone appeared in his place last week and made two speeches about the Scotch Patronage and English Public Worship Bills. The former has pleased the ultra Dissenters, the latter the Ritualists.

Oratorically both speeches were fine. But already their effect has gone off in the House, while the evil they have done in the country is more and more seen. I think

they will stop the formation of a good Liberal Club, at which I have been working rather hard, and probably break up the Liberal Association.

Dizzy, however, is not much better off, three out of the six in the Cabinet in the Commons voting against the Church Bill. I never knew party religious feeling run so high as it does just now. The violent language used by the High Church people is always remarkable, but now incredible. Liar and forger are among the epithets applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury!¹

You will have heard by telegraph of the attempted assassination of Bismarck. This also is said to be the act of a religious fanatic.

August 6, 1874.

Beauchamp has got the Channel Fleet. It is said that Seymour Fitzgerald² is to have Washington; Thornton³ certainly is leaving.

September 2, 1874.

The hash of the Licensing Act is more and more evident, and giving endless trouble, but nothing else political is stirring.

Yes, I am, and was from the first, very sore about Suez Canal.⁴ I fear I have not kept any papers. I did not print anything.

October 9, 1874.

When I last wrote you I was on the point of accepting the Chairmanship of the Great Western Railway of Canada. It was by no means what I wanted, but I did not like to refuse it. I have plunged into the end of a long quarrel, not entirely appeased by the defeat of the late Board, and a fresh departure. And I have to go this day fortnight to America, not being at home till nearly the end of January. I take out a Mr. Delves Broughton, a good railway man, as a working colleague. The railway is from Toronto and the Niagara River to Detroit and Lake Michigan, with sundry (too many) branches, about six hundred and fifty miles, and having cost eight and a quarter millions in

¹ Dr. A. C. Tait, who introduced the Public Worship Regulation Bill.

² Formerly Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

³ Sir Edward Thornton, G.C.B.

⁴ This is understood to refer to a proposal made by him in 1869 to Mr. Gladstone to purchase the Suez Canal shares.

Canada, and one and a quarter in the States. Dividend now *nil*, and nothing even for the Preference shareholders.

February 11, 1875.

I found when I went out to America that I had in hand a worse concern and a tougher job than I had dreamt of, but I worked it through, and I hope to see daylight before very long. I like the Americans much better than I expected, and saw a good deal of their best men, engineers, lawyers, bankers, etc., and, of course, officials and sailors; all very kind and civil. We went to a great many places of interest, all over Canada (except Quebec), and staying some days each at New York, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Washington, and New Orleans. On our way home we were for some days in Cuba, and I was glad to see slavery in its last stronghold. We had good passages, and we travelled by land and water fifteen thousand miles, much at night, in those comfortable sleeping carriages. The most interesting sights to me were the rebuilt town of Chicago, the new bridge at St. Louis, the Patent Office at Washington, and the Parliament House at Ottawa. The railway men are the ablest men of business in the States, far superior to the politicians.

He returned home in time for the Session of 1875: on his arrival he found his wife very seriously ill.

February 19, 1875.

You will be sorry to hear that my wife is *very* ill, not dangerously, though I dread every day to hear that she may be so. She has not left her bed for sixteen days, and is fearfully emaciated and weak.

Our official people, I mean my colleagues on the front bench, made a great mistake in voting to adjourn the John Mitchell debate¹ last night. There was some excuse for a Committee, but none for the adjournment.

It was at this time that Lord Dufferin sought his help to settle a complicated question in an out-of-the-way part of the Dominion of Canada.

¹ John Mitchell, ex-convict, of "Young Ireland" notoriety, had broken his parole, and been elected M.P. for Tipperary: the House of Commons refused to allow him to take his seat.

From the Earl of Dufferin.

OTTAWA, February 23, 1875.

I wonder whether it would suit your plans to undertake for us the settlement of a rather difficult controversy, but one which your experience and ability would soon dispose of.

In the island of Prince Edward there is, unfortunately, a Land Question. In ancient days, considerable grants were made by the Crown to various persons, who in turn leased their lands for long periods. These periods are drawing to a close, and the tenants who have reclaimed their farms from the Primeval Forest think it very hard that they should be ousted from what they had come to regard as their inheritance.

Public opinion on this side of the Atlantic is so adverse to proprietorial rights, that the owners, who are mostly absentees, and reside in England, find themselves in a very obnoxious position, and, I understand, would be glad enough to arrive at some compromise. Last year the local Legislature passed an Act of so sweeping and outrageous a character, that I determined to disallow it, and I suggested in a private letter to Lord Carnarvon that the whole subject should be referred to the arbitrament of three persons. . . . The nominee of the Governor-General will naturally have the whole matter in his hands; he will be the person before whom his colleagues will plead the case of the respective interests they represent; and I am very anxious to entrust the business to a person of such political standing and experience as will inspire confidence. The very fact of your having been a member of the Government which passed the Land Bill¹ will render you acceptable to the Anti-Landlord party, while the proprietors themselves would feel that, inasmuch as something has to be done, they would probably never be likely to find themselves in safer hands.

Mr. Childers consented to undertake the task, and arrived in Prince Edward Island at the end of July, 1875. He spent two months there, and visited various parts of the island.

¹ The Irish Land Act, 1870.

Mrs. Childers records:—

July 28 (1875).—We landed at Charlottetown at about 6 p.m. The approach was pretty, though not striking. The red sand of which the island is formed is very conspicuous on the low cliffs; Government House, a very prominent wooden building well situated. It is a large house with an imposing Grecian portico and a verandah. The Governor, Sir Robert Hodgson and his sister-in-law, welcomed us very kindly. It is certainly a curious experience to find ourselves dropped down into a house on an island where we don't know a single soul, and of the existence of which I, at any rate, was unaware seven months ago.

August 16.—Hugh's Court began its sittings to-day—from ten to six, with an hour's interval. It is held in the Chamber of the Assembly, and H. sits under a grand red canopy on a species of throne, C.¹ in his gown near.

September 27.—Our last land journey in America! A lovely day luckily, and through the lovely scenery of the Allegheny range. A most pleasant change, for certainly there is not much beauty generally on the American railways. We sat on a little platform feasting our eyes, and admiring the beautiful autumn tints which are appearing now. Left Pittsburgh between seven and eight, and we debarked in Jersey city, and then got on a large ferry to cross to New York. There a quaint carriage conveyed us all to the Brevoort House. An excellent supper, and then a visit from Lord Houghton and Robert.²

¹ His son Charles, who thus described the proceedings: "My father and his two colleagues occupied the Bench (one of them is Dr. Jenkins, who represents the Government; the other is the Commissioner appointed by the Proprietor whose estate is being dealt with). The case of each estate takes the form of a lawsuit—the Government (through the Commissioner of Lands) being *quasi* plaintiff in each case, and claiming the estate for so much; the Proprietor as defendant striving to induce the Commissioners to value it at so much more. The estates dealt with last week were those of a Mr. and Miss Cundall; next week Sir Graham Montgomery's, Mr. Ponsonby Fane's, Lord Melville's, Miss Sullivan's, etc., etc., will be taken in order. Counsel appeared on each side. The Government employed their Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, and also brought a counsel over from New Brunswick. Several legal points arose."

² Now Earl of Crewe.

September 28.—Hugh was busy all day with Railway people.

By the 10th of September the majority of the cases had been adjudicated upon; on the 11th of September he left the island, having practically settled a difficult land question which had for years troubled the Government of Canada as well as the Colonial Office at home.

September 18.—We left Prince Edward Island just a week ago. I had been working very hard during the previous fortnight, sitting every day in the court for seven hours, and I had succeeded in getting through a mass of work, settling ten cases, of 186,000 acres, including all the important English ones. The Bar had been rather unruly at first, party feeling on this subject having been desperately strong, but we got them into capital order at last. It was to me rather a novel sensation sitting as judge, and deciding points of law, but, thanks to C. and a little patience, we did very well. We saw almost over the whole island.

From the Earl of Dufferin.

October 2, 1875.

The time has now arrived for me to thank you most warmly and cordially on behalf of both the Government of Canada, and more especially on my own, for the energetic and successful manner in which you have pushed through the difficult and responsible business which you had undertaken.

The immense service you have rendered to the Government of Canada has, I am happy to say, been acknowledged in fitting terms by the Administration, but as soon as I reach Ottawa I shall certainly communicate to Lord Carnarvon my sense of the obligations under which you have placed us all.

To Sir Andrew Clarke.

October 21, 1875.

We had a prosperous holiday. We were, for nearly six weeks, at Charlottetown, a most pleasant, quiet retreat, living by the sea at Government House, with not too many functions and dinners. Then we were for three or four

weeks on the mainland, and my wife saw everything from Quebec to Chicago, besides the towns on the route from Detroit to New York, and between Halifax and Montreal. Cleveland on Lake Erie was the most interesting town I had not been at before. But it was also my first visit to Halifax, St. John's, Pittsburgh, etc.

My railway work is desperately uphill, the Company having been terribly mismanaged, and its position most critical. The long continuance of the commercial depression in America has baffled all calculations, and it is more difficult even than I thought to manage anything at that distance. However, it has given me plenty of experience.

November 17, 1875.

I spent two days at Portsmouth on board the *Minotaur* with Beauchamp, and looked all over the Extension works with Wood. They might open the great basin and two docks at once.

In November of this year (1875), very shortly after his return from Canada, a great blow fell on him. The circumstances of the death of his wife were peculiarly distressing. Mrs. Childers had been ill for some months previous to their going to Prince Edward Island, but the change had appeared to benefit her greatly; and she was getting quite strong again. Shortly after arriving home, they went on a visit to their old Australian friends, Mr. and Mrs. Dalgety at Lockerley Hall, near Romsey. Mrs. Childers had been suffering from a severe attack of insomnia, and had, before retiring to rest, placed by her bedside a bottle of chloroform.

How the accident exactly occurred can never now be known, but the bottle, evidently opened in the darkness, had been overturned, and the pillow saturated with the contents. Death must have been immediate and painless, so instantaneous, indeed, that until the morning Mr. Childers was unaware of the calamity which had befallen him.

Mrs. Childers had been his constant companion in all the various circumstances of his married life—a gentle

and sympathetic sharer in success and disappointment. She seemed to have learnt well the art of living a life as varied as it was energetic. Whether exercising with tact and charm the extensive hospitality which their position rendered necessary, or superintending her household and her children's education, her serenity was unfailing, her spirit undaunted. The intricacies of a political speech and the vivacities of a schoolboy's letter alike interested her; to each of her six absent sons she rarely failed to write twice every week. She was ready for every vicissitude, an unpremeditated voyage, a sudden illness, a contested election, or a round of visits. No one who came to her for sympathy ever found her too preoccupied to give it. People turned to her instinctively in trouble, and never in vain. Such is the testimony, a quarter of a century after her death, of a large circle of friends and relations, whose affectionate remembrance of her remains undimmed.

To Sir Andrew Clarke.

NORTON, near WORCESTER, *December 9, 1875.*

You will have heard of my great sorrow. I could not write to you last week (though I sent you the *Times* with Mr. Ellis's¹ letter), but now that we have laid her under the village church here, I must tell you and your wife something of this terrible affliction to me and my children.

We came back from America nearly two months ago, and she was wonderfully set up by the sea air and the quiet of Charlottetown. We had at first a good deal to do, after her illness and absence, but she managed it all well, and we were to spend December and January in a series of visits, including three weeks at Cantley with all the children. She looked forward to the two months' absence from home with great pleasure, and I never knew her so *jolly* and without a care as going to our first visit at the Dalgetys', and during our first evening there. The rest you will know from the papers. She cannot have been really as sleepless as she fancied, and the first inhalation was enough to put her to sleep before she had

¹ Mr. Robert Ellis had been his doctor for many years.



Emily
Portrait of H. L. L. 1870

and sympathetic sharer in success and disappointment. She seemed to have learnt well the art of living a life as useful as it was energetic. Whether exercising with tact and cheer the extensive hospitality which their position demanded, or superintending her household and her children's education, her serenity was unfailing, her spirit undimmed. The intricacies of a political speech and the simplicity of a schoolboy's letter alike interested her; to each of her six absent sons she rarely failed to write twice every week. She was ready for every vicissitude, an unexpected voyage, a sudden illness, a contracted situation, or a crowd of visits. No one who came to her for sympathy ever found her too preoccupied to give it. People looked to her instinctively in trouble, and never in vain. Such is the testimony, a quarter of a century after her death, of a large circle of friends and relations, whose affectionate remembrance of her remains undimmed.

By Andrew Gorton.

KINGSTON, NEW WORCESTER, December 9, 1875.

You will have heard of my great sorrow. I could not write to you last week although I sent you the *Times* with Mr. Fisher's words, but now that we have laid her under the pillow she chose here I must tell you and your wife something of this terrible affliction to me and my children.

We came back from America nearly two months ago, and she was wonderfully set up by the sea air and the quiet of Charlottetown. We had at first a good deal to do, after her illness and absence, but she managed it all well, and we were to spend December and January in a series of visits, including three weeks at Cantley with all the children. She looked forward to the two months' absence from home with great pleasure, and I never knew her so gay and without a care as going on our first visit at the "Glenageary," and during our first evening there. The next day, I know from the papers, she cannot have been sicker or sleepless as she fancied, and the first inhalation was enough to put her to sleep before she had

¹ Mr. Robert Ellis had been his doctor for many years.



Emily
first wife of Mr. Childers. c. 1870.

W. D. & C. Childers

time to put down the closed bottle she held in her hand. She always wished to be buried here. Mr. White kindly came down, and we had the Sacrament service in the room where she lay, before going to church, he taking part in both with my eldest brother-in-law.¹ She lies in her father's vault, and I intend to put up a cross to her in the churchyard. She was christened, and we were married in this church. My poor children were all at the funeral, and bore it well. Louise is now eighteen and a half, and a great comfort to me, as, indeed, they all are.

I do not know what to think about myself. I shall, I hope, be able to let my house, and go somewhere during the season this year; but what afterwards? For the first time I regret that our party is not in power, as I should accept any work abroad or in a colony which would take me away for two or three years.

January 4, 1876.

The news since I wrote last is Lord Lytton's succession to your present chief.² I know him well. He is very pleasant, and is a man of genius, but he has to win his spurs in administration.

Mr. Childers tried to get rid of some of the depression now settling on him by a brief visit to Canada.

OTTAWA, February 20, 1876.

I cannot yet shake off the sleepless nightmare which haunts me, and all work reminding me of the past is distasteful, and, I fear, ill done. The Dufferins are very kind to me here, and the amusements of a very cold climate have the advantage of novelty, but I have little appetite for them, and dread the grind of Parliament and the desolation of home when I go back next month.

On the 31st March, 1876, Lord Halifax and the Duke of Argyll had criticized Lord Salisbury for refusing to lay on the table the dissents of Sir Erskine Perry and Sir Henry Montgomery from his telegram to the Viceroy, and an interesting question had arisen as to power of the

¹ Rev. George Edmund Walker, then Rector of Doddington, Cambs.

² Lord Northbrook, Governor-General of India. Sir A. Clarke had gone from Singapore to become a member of the Governor-General's Council.

Secretary of State for India to give a qualified assent to resolutions of the Governor-General's Council. Mr. Childers was asked as to the practice of the self-governing colonies.

April 28, 1876.

I have to-day looked up the debates of 1855 on the Victoria and New South Wales Constitution Bills, to enable me to answer Northbrook's question.

I cannot find any suggestion that the Crown should have the power of vetoing portions of Bills as well as whole Acts. There was a short debate on the power of veto, but the question was whether, after an Act had received the Governor's assent, the Crown should be empowered to disallow it?¹

What I think passed through your mind was this. We and the New South Wales Legislature passed Constitution Bills in 1854, with two or three clauses in each which were *ultra vires*. The Bills introduced into Parliament in 1855 enabled her Majesty to assent to these Bills (they had been "reserved" by the Governors) with the *ultra vires* clauses left out.² Thus, the Bill which passed the Colonial Legislature was not the Bill which received the Royal Assent; this could only be effected by special Acts of Parliament in which the Colonial Bills were put into the schedule as amended. Several members spoke to this as questionable, especially Lowe, who said it was inconsistent with the Australian Colonies Government Act of 1850.

I do not think there is anything else on this subject in *Hansard*. I will point out the debate to Northbrook when he arrives.

May 12, 1876.

I have read your Budget with much interest. It is clear enough. The fall in the price of silver undoubtedly involves for some time reductions in your expenditure.

¹ The rule of the Colony of Victoria is that although the Governor has assented in the ordinary way to a Bill it can be subsequently vetoed *within two years* at home. This is a quite different matter from the Crown refusing to assent to Bills which have been "reserved" by the Governor; but even if the Colonial Bill has been assented to and not vetoed, it would not prevail against an earlier Imperial Act extending to the Colonies.

² *Vide ante*, p. 63, note (1).

You have large amounts to pay in England in sterling, and you have to give six rupees for gold which used to be got for five rupees. That is to say, all your English payments cost you one-fifth more than formerly. Some day you will recover part of this loss, because as your taxes are paid in rupees you will be able to raise them without adding to the burdens on the people ; but so much of your revenue is fixed and only payable in silver, while the rate of expenditure must rise, that this will be a slow improvement.

Years ago I wrote and spoke to the effect that the gold discoveries, before many years were over, instead of raising would reduce the price of silver, because it would be largely demonetized. The Dutch took the opposite view, and it has cost them millions. Had Sir Charles Wood's policy as to Indian currency been vigorously carried out, gold would have become the standard for large payments, and you also would have been saved your present loss.¹ But the great majority of the economists and financiers were the other way.

The French are halting between two opinions, and the Americans also ; and I suspect both will heavily suffer.

In May he addressed himself to Finance, and spoke on Sir Stafford Northcote's Budget. The following is an extract from his speech :—

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir S. Northcote) has described himself as jealous of increases of expenditure, and as doing his best to resist them. Let me once more quote the words, formerly used with such effect in this House, *magnum vectigal est parsimonia*—'Economy is the best ways and means.' And if the House requires it, I think I can give them, from our recent financial history, a precedent for insisting on this rule, which may not be inappropriate. I told the House, some minutes ago, that, since 1842, Parliament had never increased taxation except for purpose of war. That was literally true, but, so far as the annual Budget is concerned, there was one notable exception. In one year, a Government as strong as the present, and under circumstances not unlike those of 1876, did recommend to Parliament an increase of the Income Tax. The year was 1848, and the Government was that

¹ *Vide ante*, p. 99.

of Lord Russell. The Budget showed an estimated expenditure of £54,500,000 with a revenue of £51,250,000 only; and it was proposed to make good the deficiency by an increase of the Income Tax to the extent of £3,500,000. The reasons for that proposal were very similar to those adduced by my right honourable friend. There had been a large increase of expenditure, in all about £2,000,000, during the two preceding years. Much of that was due to grants in aid of Local Taxation. Trade was bad; the exports of the year fell off by above ten per cent.; the state of Europe was perilous; and the Duke of Wellington's warnings as to the defences of the country were ringing in men's ears. So necessary did this strong Government, with a majority of a hundred, consider an increase of revenue, that the Budget was brought forward, not by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but by the First Minister, with the full force of his authority. And yet what happened? Economy possibly was a little more in favour than it is now. Anyhow, it was to economy that men's minds were first turned. No one denounced the Budget with greater vigour than the member for Buckinghamshire,¹ and after many and long discussions it was withdrawn. In the last month of the session it was brought forward again—£200,000 had been taken off the Navy Estimates, £150,000 off the Army, £380,000 off the other services. The revenue was more hopefully looked at, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to withdraw altogether the proposed increase of the Income Tax. What was the result? In the following session he came down to Parliament with a statement that, without incurring any addition to the debt, the expenditure had been kept within the revenue, and that he had a small surplus. In that year, 1848, the cry of the member for Buckinghamshire and his friends was, "Take back your Budget." I venture to repeat that advice to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. I would say to my right honourable friend, Tell your colleagues that the House of Commons is unwilling to let the year 1876 be the first exception to the rule that, in time of peace, the expenditure must be kept within the existing income. If, through weakness or apathy, you break into this rule now, it will not be the last time; but when still further demands are made, they may not be received with the same indifference or indulgence as now.

¹ Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli.

To Sir Andrew Clarke.

June 30, 1876.

I have just finished my Coal Commission;¹ and I am in the middle of a Committee on the Employment of Soldiers and Sailors in Civil Work, of which I am chairman.²

Though war is considered imminent, it is remarkable that the War Office has done literally nothing! This may be prudent, but if we are *aux prises* with any Great Power, the Army will have some work. The revenue keeps up fairly, and money is abundant.

So depressed had he latterly become, in consequence of his wife's death, that he went so far as to seek employment away from England; fortunately for himself, the post he sought was given elsewhere.

To Sir Andrew Clarke.

July 1, 1876.

I hope I have not done wrong to let Lord Salisbury know, through my old friend, Sir Erskine Perry, that if the financial membership of Council is offered to me, I will accept it. He will see Lord Salisbury to-morrow. I have felt lately so wretched that I screwed myself up to this, but it is probably too late.

August 19, 1876.

Parliament has risen; the last *coup de théâtre* being Dizzy's peerage. It was, of course, only due to him. Nothing is known formally about the lead in the Commons, but I assume Northcote will take it. Our weakness is greater than ever. I shall always be loyal to Hartington, but my influence is next to *nil*. I will send you the Reports of my Commission (Coal), and Committee (Civil Employment of Soldiers, etc.); the latter only reports the evidence, but you will see our drift from the questions and answers, and I shall be glad of any suggestions from you for next session. I have also finished some work for Carnarvon at the Colonial Office, about the Indian and Colonial Museum, where I had to drive the strange team of the colonial agents.

Your question about an operation for buying cereals with Government credit to merchants to be repaid in gold

¹ Spontaneous combustion of coal in ships.

² See letter to Mr. Gladstone, *post*, p. 281.

at the India Office, is not, I think, difficult to answer. If it would pay, the banks would advance first without Government intervention ; if not, your aid would not make it pay. I doubt any contrivance helping what will soon settle itself—the gradual adjustment of the relative value of silver and gold. I have been reading and thinking a good deal, and I see no greater difficulty about this adjustment than about the similar adjustment in and since 1857, when gold, not silver, was the precious metal suddenly depreciated in value. I make no doubt that you will soon have the rupee at 1s. 10d. ; though, meanwhile, you will have made a heavy loss. I doubt the expediency of contracting the expenditure on remunerative works. On unremunerative works it is clearly right.

August 31, 1876.

I am glad to be put out of my misery about India, if, as I conclude, the statement of Sir John Strachey's becoming your Finance Minister is well-founded.¹ I hear that Ashley Eden² is likely to get the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, of which I should be glad. We are staying at Cantley, where my uncle, for a man of seventy-eight, is wonderfully well. Plenty of birds and fair cover.

This was the year of the Bulgarian atrocities and the beginning of the agitation on the Eastern Question.

September 20, 1876.

The Anti-Turkish agitation is noisy, but, I do not think, very deep. Of course no one can fail to be horror-stricken at the outrages, fully confirmed by Mr. Baring. But people are beginning to doubt the wisdom of playing the Russian game ; and, for my part, while I should be only too glad to see the Turk out of Europe, I would willingly pay an Income Tax of 2s. 6d. in the £ to keep the Russian out of Constantinople.

September 14, 1876.

Everything is now overshadowed by Bulgaria and Servia.

¹ The statement was well founded ; and he had to divide his attention between Europe and America.

² Hon. Ashley Eden, brother of Lord Auckland [who had married Mr. Childers's cousin].

I think the horrors have been overdone, but the public feeling is very strong, and the outrages themselves are bestial and devilish. I am, however, not prepared to accept the Russian Alliance even to put down Turkish infamies. But Gladstone and Lowe have pronounced for this, and the Government, as yet, seem nearly swept away in the stream.

Amalgamation of the Great Western Railway of Canada with the Grand Trunk was proposed; but Mr. Childers opposed it.

October 10, 1876.

I have been hard at work over my railway, and the shareholders have responded very well to the application for proxies at the next meeting (on Thursday), having sent me 127,000, against 25,000 for amalgamation with the Grand Trunk. The Opposition were supported by almost daily notices in the City articles of the *Times* and *Daily News*, so they have had every chance.

Forster has made rather a good speech on Eastern affairs. The future is still very uncertain, but Russia is hastening war preparations.

October 17, 1876.

We are supposed to be at the crisis of the Eastern Question. The telegrams to-day have been very alarming, but I do not despair of peace. The popular feeling is very strong against Turkey, or any resistance to Russia; though educated people are seeing, more and more, the dangers of the situation into which Dizzy's romancing ignorance and Gladstone's wild language have brought us. The solution may be to let Russia go to Constantinople, and ourselves to Egypt. But we are already in Egypt, and whoever holds the Bosphorus is master of the Eastern Mediterranean. This was Nicholas's offer in 1853.

There was so much work to be done for the Great Western Railway of Canada, that he once more crossed to America, accompanied by his elder daughter, and his old Wadham friend, Mr. John Fell of Flan How, Ulverston.

November 21, 1876.

We arrived at New York on the 1st, spent three days

at Philadelphia, and two at Ottawa, with the Dufferins, and the rest of the time I have been at work for my railway.

Matters are improving commercially here, and will still more improve when the Presidential Election is finally settled. I fear, however, if Governor Hayes is elected, that there may be trouble. The Democrats are nearly as violent as before the war, and though my natural sympathies are with the other side, the conduct of the present Government makes a change, on many accounts, desirable. I have escaped speeches and interviews so far. Louise enjoys her visit to America greatly.

Barry was one of the great guns at Philadelphia. By far the best part of the Exhibition was from the United Kingdom and the Colonies; but the Americans beat us in machinery, silver ware, and toys. I never saw so sober and observant a people as they have become of late. They thought most of the picture galleries.

January 3, 1877.

We had a very successful journey, except that we missed Jamaica. I was to have reached Cuba from New Orleans in time to cross to Cienfuegos, a port on the south coast of the island, and thence by a Royal Mail small steamer, sent up specially, to Jamaica. But trade at New Orleans, and also at Havana, is so bad that the steamer from the former port put off sailing, at last *sine die*; and with difficulty we got across in a Spanish trooper in time for the mail from Havana *via* St. Thomas. However, I saw all I wanted, except Jamaica. Louise is very well, and greatly enjoyed herself. We just missed the tremendous gales of the last few weeks, getting in after one, and a few hours before another. We saw at New Orleans strange election scenes.

I have not had time yet to find out all I should wish about current politics. It is very satisfactory to know that the policy of 1869-70 laid the foundation of a really formidable Fleet. But my successor hesitated, and it is useless to expect credit now.

March 8, 1877.

The question of peace and war still hangs in the balance. I think war will be averted; but if, after all, Russia moves, the country will be greatly excited. You know, I think, that my view all the way through has been

that the Opposition should praise the Government, making it perfectly clear that they took up new and good ground in what was done at the Conference, and thus that they should be strengthened in putting pressure on Russia.

Two days ago Hartington asked me if I had any objection to take up Army affairs, nobody but Campbell-Bannerman¹ knowing anything about them on our bench; and I think I shall. There is plenty to do, with a good man in Hardy² to deal with.

Mr. Gladstone, who had before this ceased to be the official leader of the Liberal party, had given notice of certain resolutions on the Government's Eastern policy: a serious split in the Liberal party was threatened.

May 7, 1877.

Every one on the front bench is exercised terribly by Gladstone's last move. For the moment it means utter collapse, and, I fear, Hartington's retirement. Either Forster or Goschen may succeed him, but neither would have the public confidence Hartington inspires.

Up to Friday (May 4) it had been assumed that Mr. Gladstone would move all his four resolutions, and that the Front Opposition Bench (except Mr. Shaw Lefevre) would support the previous question. On Friday night Lord Hartington asked Mr. Childers to speak first from their Bench against Mr. Gladstone on the ground that, being a friend, he could put the case in the way least offensive to Mr. Gladstone. But on the morning of the day when Mr. Childers was to speak the Front Bench were informed by Lord Hartington that Mr. Gladstone had yielded, and under these circumstances they agreed to support the first and the (amended) second resolutions, the others being withdrawn. With this very short notice Mr. Childers spoke with the disadvantage of lukewarm support from the 120 members who would have supported

¹ Who had been Financial Secretary to the War Office 1871-74.

² Now Earl of Cranbrook, then Secretary for War.

the original resolutions, and who were irritated with their leaders for not doing so. The resolutions were rejected by 354 to 223. "The breeze," wrote Mr. Childers, "has blown over; but I think only for the moment."

June 1, 1877.

We went to Paris on the 18th of May, and I had intended to return to-day, but I was obliged to come sooner for a Great-Western-of-Canada Board yesterday, and to say good-bye to Vanderbilt and Broughton. I was in the thick of the political work at Paris, dining with De Cazes, and going to many parties. By-the-by, at the Presidency I was oddly enough mistaken for the Emperor of Brazil, and had some difficulty in proving I was not *Votre Majesté*! I had two long talks at my hotel with De Cazes, and then with the Comte de Paris, and several with De Broglie, Waddington, Brisset, and others, but I missed Thiers. They are more Russian than our Government, but terribly afraid of Bismarck. I cannot but think that the true policy would have been going to the Bosphorus as nobody's friend but our own, and with Austria and France insisting on good government on the one side and on Russia's demobilization on the other.

June 8, 1887.

The great news of this week is what the Government have done about the Suez Canal. Apparently they have taken the line that they will not allow belligerency in the Canal, and only that. Naturally the question at once arises, if a Russian ship, either of war or merchant, gets into the Canal, and there is to be no belligerency, she must be allowed to go through unmolested; in other words, the Canal will have the status of a neutral port, which a belligerent may try to prevent his enemy from entering, but into which belligerents may go, but must keep the peace. I shall try to see Lord Granville about it. The Porte apparently intend only to agree to our demand if they may interfere with Russian ships in the Canal; but this would mean belligerency.

This question of Egypt and the Suez Canal had been always before his eyes. Seven years before, he had written when First Lord of the Admiralty:—

To Earl Granville.

ADMIRALTY, November 25, 1870.

Will you let me remind you of a question, the importance of which I have, perhaps, too persistently urged? I mean the regulation of the Suez Canal.

You may remember that I brought the subject before the Cabinet early in last spring, urging that steps should be taken to discuss it with Turkey and the Great Powers; and that ever since I have been urging its importance. But I fear that nothing has been done, and I do not think that even the promised *précis* has ever been circulated.

The question is now of *immediate*, and, to my mind, vital, concern. We have between eighty thousand and a hundred thousand troops, and a powerful fleet on the other side of this Isthmus. If we are at war, what will be our status with respect to the right to use the Canal, and what will be the status of others? Is the responsibility for its protection to be left to the corrupt and semi-barbarous Government of Egypt? Remember that the sinking of a single ship at certain parts of the Canal may prevent all communication by it for months; it is the route both for our Navy, and almost our entire commerce to and from the East, and it is on the point of being the route for our troops.

On the other hand, there is no agreement even with Turkey herself as to its use, and she has, I think, claimed the right not only to prevent its use at any time, but to require previous sanction before any vessel of war goes through.

July 12, 1877.

Waddington has been over from Paris, and I gave him two dinners—people staying each evening till nearly twelve. The first, got up in a hurry, comprised Forster, Goschen, Ed. Fitzmaurice, Courtney, the Bishop of Peterboro'; and the second, Bright, Lowe, Chamberlain, Playfair, Harcourt, Mundella. During his ten days here he was greatly *fêted*. I think if the French *coup-de-tête* fails, he is very likely to be Prime Minister, a curious position for a Rugby and Cambridge man!

The Bill for the annexation of the Transvaal brought in by the Government marks the commencement of obstructionist tactics on the part of the Irish members.

August 2, 1877.

You will read the accounts of the long sitting of last Tuesday and Wednesday. I did two hours and a half of chairmanship. But it is sad work.

The Turkish successes at Plevna and beyond the Balkans have surprised many. I rejoice that the two belligerents are more of a match. Turkey must go, but Russia will be too weakened to be able to step in.

In company with his daughter Louise, his son Francis, and Mr. and Mrs. H. Hussey Vivian,¹ he revisited America for the sixth time.

HAMILTON, CANADA, *September 13, 1877.*

I have little to tell you of ourselves. There is nothing very interesting in Canadian Railway diplomacy, but things are looking up a little at last, in point of traffic, and I hope to succeed in the most troublesome negotiation to buy 190 miles of good railway for £1,000,000. I wish you could have seen the American railways. But their traffic arrangements are not worthy of imitation. The great object of all the hangers-on is to get the maximum amount of commissions, percentages to conveying companies, rebates, etc. as possible; and the officers often form "rings" or subordinate companies to secure these percentages. Thus, while the working expenses will be sixty-five or seventy per cent., some ten per cent. more will be thrown away in this way, and there will be nearly as many outside leeches as inside paid officials. This is what we have to fight, and it is no easy matter. Mr. Broughton is doing it well.

We landed at Halifax on the 17th of August, after spending twelve hours at St. John's, Newfoundland, where we dined with Sir J. and Lady Glover.² From Halifax we went to my old friends in Prince Edward Island, then for two days' fishing in New Brunswick, thence to Quebec, Montreal, Boston (*vid* Lake Champlain, Saratoga), and here.

¹ Afterwards Lord and Lady Swansea.

² Sir John Hawley Glover had received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his services in the Ashanti War; he was Governor of Newfoundland 1874-81. Lady Glover has written his memoir.

ON THE CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILWAY

IN NEVADA, *October 21, 1877.*

After spending our two very pleasant and profitable days at Salt Lake City and the mines, we had an uneventful journey to San Francisco, where we arrived on the 6th. We went to the Palace Hotel, the greatest in the world. Our sitting room was "No. 974." There we were very kindly received by the principal people, official and financial, and we saw the principal sights. One day we devoted to the great wine-growing valleys and wine-making, another to the dockyard and shipping, and two evenings we spent in the Chinese quarter, under the care of the police. We dined and spent an afternoon at ex-Governor Stanford's splendid Palace (he is worth some £5,000,000), and another at Senator Sharon's country house. We saw, of course, the usual sights. On the 14th we started for the Yosemite Valley, which, and the "Big Trees," took four days. They are not in the least exaggerated, and the valley is finer than anything in Switzerland, but for the absence of glaciers. The trees reach three hundred and fifty feet high and a hundred round the trunk. Then we visited the lovely Lake Tahoe (twenty-two miles by ten), the highest navigated by steam in the world, eight thousand feet up; and then we went to Virginia city and devoted a day to the mines, etc. This is now the greatest gold-and-silver-producing district; one mine giving in twelve months £5,500,000, the working expenses £3,000,000, and net profit £2,500,000. Our cicerone all day (we went into the lowest workings, seventeen hundred and fifty feet down) has an annual income of £900,000! He is the senior partner of four. This—the Great Bonanza, or "California" and "Consolidated Virginia," mines—gives about fifty-five per cent. in value of silver and forty-five per cent. of gold. The ore is like hard cheese, and gives from twenty to a hundred and forty dollars to the ton; the vein being from a hundred to three hundred feet thick, in a lode a thousand feet of porphyry and quartz, between walls of cyanite and clay. It is five miles long, but the dip is forty-five degrees, so that, though on the side of the mountain, it becomes very costly to follow. Seventeen hundred feet down it was terribly hot, and they work fifteen minutes at a time in three courses of eight hours each. The present production of the Bonanza is fourteen hundred tons of ore a day. There is more wood in these mines than would build two

San Francisco, and you may imagine the extent of this lumber trade by the fact that they have built a steel railway nine miles long up the hills, and a tram eleven miles down between Tahoe and Carson, merely to convey the timber cut *by one firm* round the lake. The railway cost £65,000. The twenty-one miles railway from Carson to the mines cost £450,000 and belongs to three men. They run forty trains each way, and get nearly a penny a mile per ton for all they carry. It is built most expensively, with Brown's (Sheffield) steel, and the tunnels are zinc-lined. I give you these details, which will, I know, interest you.

I have been able here to correct my ideas about silver. So far, the Comstock lode will have no perceptible effect on its relative value. I feel confident that this will soon cease to be a serious question with you, especially if the United States return to the double standard, as seems likely.

November 15, 1877.

How strange it is that St. Louis, which very old people can remember as a French town owing allegiance to Napoleon I., and which twenty years ago was itself the Far West, with Indians and Kansas troubles close by, should be now "in the East," and contain above five hundred thousand souls.

He returned to England in November.

December 21, 1877.

The earlier meeting of Parliament than usual (by three weeks) has caused almost a panic. No one knows what is contemplated. Some Tory papers say active co-operation with Turkey, others the occupation of Egypt, others only a large vote for military purposes. I believe it means nothing except that they cannot agree, but feel that whatever comes should do so quickly. I have seen none of my former colleagues, since I came home, except Goschen and Lowe for a few minutes, and I know nothing of our front bench views.

January 4, 1878.

I thought Carnarvon's speech on the 2nd very injudicious, but it has calmed public feeling for the moment.¹ The reference to the policy of the Crimean War as insane

¹ *Vide* note (1) on p. 252.

I cannot understand—I mean the wisdom of such a declaration by a Minister. The Crimean War was just and necessary, in the opinion of all England (except a miserable minority), and its objects were attained. England will certainly not go to war for some of the “cries” put about by Turkish writers in the newspapers, but that is a different matter.

January 8, 1878.

As the Duke of Argyll said last session, there is really “no man at the wheel.” No one seems to know who is the master spirit, and the contradictory utterances of the Government newspapers are thoroughly mystifying. Gladstone *always* said, “Put pressure on Turkey, and prevent Russia being in a position to act alone;” so he is quite consistent; so far, I agree with him that when our Government had made up their minds what to ask from Turkey, and had got the other Powers to agree, they should have used real pressure. As it was, they affected pressure, but put their tongue in their cheek. Thus they put it out of their power to quarrel (except on paper) with Russia, when she used force; but by their language they also precluded themselves from stepping in as mediators, and the cynical description of their policy, that it had a *sole* eye to British interests, gave all the other Powers the opportunity to say, “Then act for yourself; that is not *our* paramount object.”

I think Lord Palmerston would have acted differently.

January 25, 1878.

The situation is critical, if, as I have fully expected, Russia and Turkey have agreed to conditions distasteful to us; so that if we fight we must fight them both. What an end to the weakness and vacillation of the last eighteen months!

My poor old Vicar¹ at Pontefract is dead. So is Edward Wilson.² These losses I feel much.

February 1, 1878.

The changes in the Government, consequent on Sir

¹ Rev. Thomas Bisset.

² Part proprietor of the Melbourne *Argus*.

Michael Hicks Beach's going to the Colonial Office,¹ may move Lord G. Hamilton.² I shall be sorry if it be so.

The state of matters is still critical. The proposal of £6,000,000, two-thirds of which could not be possibly spent before the end of next month, puts the Opposition in great difficulty. Hartington, Goschen, and I were reluctant to say "No" in any shape, but we found it impossible to define our views in a resolution acceptable to others. Granville, Harcourt, Gladstone, Bright, Stansfeld, and Argyll were strong for a resolution, Forster less strong. Finally we settled the present motion. I tried to get in a paragraph expressing our readiness to vote anything "required to maintain the honour of the Crown and the interests of England," but I did not succeed. I did, however, succeed in introducing the word "unnecessary" before "supplies," and this made it possible for Hartington and Goschen to concur. I hope to speak on Monday.

In debates on Foreign Policy Mr. Childers rarely took part; but on this occasion he made a speech, which included the following observations.

It is not on the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus that our eyes should now be fixed. These must and will be secondary questions in the future. But the question, above all, to which our attention should be directed is our connection with India. The Khedive is unfriendly to us at this moment, and tempted to be more so; and the Porte has never relinquished the absolute right of closing the Canal to our ships if it thinks fit. No European or International compact secures us the use of the Canal for ships of war, and compared with this, whether for military or commercial purposes, the Dardanelles are as nothing. I would say to Her Majesty's Government, "Discard at once your old traditions, and boldly face the

¹ Sir Michael Hicks Beach succeeded Lord Carnarvon, who retired, differing from his colleagues in a speech he had made in reference to the Russo-Turkish War, and the attitude of her Majesty's Government. He stated, on resigning, that Lord Beaconsfield in Cabinet severely condemned his language.

² In the following April Lord George Hamilton went from the India Office, where he had been Under-Secretary, to become Vice-President of the Council.

inevitable change which has now come over the whole aspect of the Eastern Question."¹

On the 1st of February news arrived of the Russian advance on Constantinople. After an excited discussion Mr. Forster's amendment (on which the leaders had agreed) was withdrawn. On a division on the main question the Government had a majority of 199.

February 14, 1878.

This is to be the day for learning the real policy of the Government about the Fleet going to Constantinople. Meanwhile nothing can be more deplorable than the *apparent* position. The Tories are now taking to abuse Lord Derby, but I suspect the Government will hold together.

Lord Derby refused to concur in the policy of sending the Fleet to the Dardanelles, and resigned.

March 29, 1878.

We are in the midst of the crisis arising out of Lord Derby's resignation, and the calling out the Reserves. I do not know what is likely to be done by us, who are so hampered by Gladstone. But if we were to go to war we should have done so long ago. I myself am glad that Lord Derby is out, but that is not the popular idea on the Liberal side.

On the 17th of April, Lord Beaconsfield electrified the country by ordering the despatch of Indian native troops to Malta.

May 10, 1878.

I don't think the Government managed wisely in letting the first news of the Indian Expedition to Malta come through the newspapers. They took great credit in 1867 for telling the House *at once* when it was decided on principle to send Indian troops to Abyssinia; and now they bring in a Budget without the expenditure, after it

¹ Twenty years after Lord Salisbury was fain to exclaim, "We put our money on the wrong horse."

was decided to incur it. We are insisting on this being explained before the Budget Bill is read a third time ; but we shall not urge on the actual discussion about the expedition, for fear of injuring the negotiations at Petersburg.

June 21, 1878.

I returned home yesterday, after a fortnight's run to Paris and the centre of France. The Exhibition is a great success ; not for beauty—for the temporary building is too low, and the permanent too gimcrack—but as a collection of recent developments in art, science, and production ; and as a catalogue of the points of national interest all over the world it is admirable. The Prince¹ has done much to put our people on their mettle and to show what England can do. In machinery we show very well, as do Belgium, France in some respects, and Switzerland ; the United States not so well as at Philadelphia.² We have made real progress in agricultural implements, the show of which is fine.

Politically we are in the lull between the appearance of the Salisbury-Schouvaloff memorandum and its explanation. It has ruined our character on the Continent, but it will lead to a patched-up peace.

In Paris my old college friend Waddington got up for us a very nice dinner at the Foreign Office, some Ministers, Admirals, etc., included.

The Berlin Congress had, among other results, the acquisition of Cyprus by Great Britain.

July 11, 1878.

The *coup de théâtre* is the only thing talked of. I think it by no means the bad move many do, but we are taking a very serious responsibility. Of course it is the end of the Ottoman Empire, but we have secured a good slice of the succession ; and meanwhile we are the only guaranteeing Power, and therefore paramount at Constantinople. What a strange sequel to Lord Derby's policy. Oh ! if we had but taken the lead before the war, and forced Turkey to do her duty, as all Europe demanded !

¹ H.R.H. The Prince of Wales.

² *Vide ante*, p. 244.

The despatch of the Indian troops to Malta had been answered by the despatch of the Russian Mission to Cabul, and England and Russia were on the brink of war. Already, two years before, in 1876, Sir Andrew Clarke had struck a note of warning.

From Sir Andrew Clarke.

SIMLA, June 26, 1876.

Between us, I am a little anxious and uncertain about Afghan matters; the majority here are for sticking to the policy of the last thirty-five years, which certainly has left the Amir¹ isolated, sulky with us, uncertain what he may expect, subject to Russian influence brought to bear on his vanity and his fears, especially on the former. Others are for our taking a more active part, and insisting on our having a permanent English Envoy or Minister at the Cabul Court. Old hands predict, if we do this, another Cabul War. I do not think this, but I question the wisdom of forcing on him an unwelcome visitor. I would rather at once say to the Amir that we know Russia is, in violation of her solemn promise to us, coquetting with him, and seeking a footing in Cabul; that the English Government is able to guarantee to him his dynasty and to assist him with money and skill in fortifying his northern and western boundaries against Russia and Persia.

This may be a bold, but I believe it will be not a rash but a safe policy. It will and must cost money at once, but it will be real economy in the end. I do not believe in diplomacy with Easterns, or, indeed, with any one. I believe if we speak out truthfully, and straightforwardly say what we fear and what we want, all will go well.

To Sir Andrew Clarke.

July 27, 1876.

I have long thought over our Cabul policy; and while I hardly pretend to know what would be the effect of sending a Minister to the Amir whether he likes it or not, I quite agree with you that we ought to speak plainly in view of Russian advances. You know I consider Russia very far from the solid, solvent body many think her to be, and she is, I believe, on the eve of great internal troubles.

¹ Sher Ali.

But so was France in 1788, and yet in ten years her armies had overrun all her neighbours, and in twenty her Government was the most powerful in the world. It may be the same with Russia, penniless and distracted as she may be found five years hence.

From Sir Andrew Clarke.

SIMLA, August 5, 1878.

While Dizzy and Company, and, indeed, all of you, have been doing your best according to your lights to conserve "British interests," that is to say, to keep open the road to India, Russia has, with great courage and most masterly activity, established herself right on our Indian frontier, for the Amir of Cabul has now with him at Cabul three Russian generals, including the Governor of Samarcand, with an escort of a thousand sabres, and on the Afghan frontier an army of fifteen thousand men. This was the counter move to sending the contingent to Malta.

To Sir Andrew Clarke.

September 9, 1878.

We have had the news of the Russian Mission to Cabul for some days, but not that so large a Russian force is on the Afghan frontier. We ought to act promptly, but I should dread anything like a permanent occupation of Afghanistan. This is not the last of the counter moves to the brilliant policy of this year. I await with some anxiety the counter moves to the Anglo-Turkish convention, which must either be vigorously and promptly followed up (in which case at no little cost it may succeed), or be provocative of enormous mischief. England never yet gained by secret diplomacy, aimed at outwitting Europe, and I am not confident that she will this time.

September 26, 1878.

When we jockeyed Russia about Cyprus and Asia Minor, we might be sure she would retaliate. We have made an alliance offensive and defensive against her *by name*, and she will do the same. If Persia and Afghanistan have patched up differences under Russia's auspices, and mean to be in future Russia's allies, it will not end with the capture of Cabul or even Herat.

I think it is fortunate that you have so cool a head as Lord Cranbrook's at the India Office.

A mission of equal rank was eventually despatched by the Viceroy ; but the Amir would not allow it to enter his territory, and an ultimatum on the part of England followed.

From Sir Andrew Clarke.

SIMLA, September 26, 1878.

When this reaches you, shots may have been exchanged on our north-western frontier and an Afghan War been inaugurated ; but my impression is it will not be so, and that we will be only in occupation of the Kurrum Valley, Quetta force strengthened, and an army corps, massed at Multan, ready to move on Candahar. I am also in favour of having an army ready for Jellalabad. However, my own impression is the Amir will have given in, and come to terms, or that he will have been deposed and murdered.

The Amir, however, did not come to terms, and three columns entered Afghanistan. Kandahar was occupied by General Stewart, Jellalabad by Sir Samuel Browne, while General (now Earl) Roberts, advancing up the Koorum Valley, gained his first victory at the Peiwar Kotal.

To Sir Andrew Clarke.

November 28, 1878.

The despatch of the 18th has caused a storm which it was most impolitic to risk. By imputing, first to the Cabinet in 1873, and then to Lord Northbrook in 1875, the blame for the Amir's conduct and for the consequent war, they have put it out of our power to give them any support. I have rarely known upright men so indignant to white heat, as the paragraphs have made Lord Northbrook and Lord Granville.

December 13, 1878.

The conclusions at which I have arrived are : That the Home Government and Lytton have had "British Agents at Herat, etc., on the brain," since 1876 ; that in trying to force this unpalatable dose on the Amir they have neglected the most ordinary precautions of prudence ; that their method of forcing it on the Amir was preposterous, employing agents and language only calculated to ensure

failure; that when they failed in March, 1877, it was insanity to withdraw the Native Agent and leave the Amir to "stew in his own gravy" for eighteen months; that in June, 1878, it was reported from four separate places, and, had not the Agent been withdrawn, we would have stated *ex officio*, that Russia was moving in force towards the Oxus; that you should then have *at once* approached the Amir, and proposed to give him assistance in arms, money, and men to defend his frontier, without worrying him about permanent Agents—by sending officers you would have got all you wanted; that instead of this you waited till August 14, and only then did the one thing of all others distasteful to him; that in Europe no complaint of this movement of troops was made to Russia till the same day, August 14, put in official form on the 26th; that the Russian Envoy question was entirely subsidiary, and, if you had got together a force in June and offered aid to the Amir, he could never have come; that the probable cause of the delay was the Salisbury-Schouvaloff Agreement, signed on the 30th of May, which it was believed would top all military measures, and the fear of alarming India and the world by getting troops ready on the frontier in June and July which must have disclosed the untruth of the statements about your relations with the Amir.

The whole turns on the infatuation about the British Agent's reception being a necessary prelude to any arrangements with the Amir, and Salisbury's touchiness in dealing with Russia.

Early in 1879 Mr. Childers became engaged to Mrs. Elliot, a daughter of Dr. Gilbert, formerly Bishop of Chichester, and widow of Colonel Gilbert Elliot, brother of the late Earl of Minto. Mrs. Elliot was a lady of much literary taste, deeply interested and enthusiastic on public questions; and during the sixteen years of their married life she was a most sympathetic and devoted companion. The journals she has left behind, full of discriminating remarks on the politics and society of the day, bear testimony to the keen powers of observation she possessed. They were married very quietly, at the British Embassy in Paris, on Easter Eve (1879).

From Admiral Sir Charles Elliot to Mrs. Gilbert Elliot.

MAISON DUMONT, BIARRITZ, *February 22, 1879.*

I feel very confident that you are taking a wise step. Although my acquaintance with Mr. Childers is very slight, I am very confident that you will find him an excellent and kind husband, and that you will make him again a happy home. . . . Though I got my appointment to Sheerness from Mr. Childers, I saw very little of him even at that time. But I well remember a kind, sympathizing note from Mrs. Childers (after our boy's death) coming for Louisa. Well, not long afterwards, Mr. Childers had to give up work at the Admiralty to recruit his health. So we never came across each other afterwards. His reforms at the Admiralty and retirement scheme for officers brought down upon him much complaint from many of those who suffered from the changes or who disapproved of them. The old Admirals in particular were rabid at being shelved, and were among the most vehement against the author of the changes. But my own feeling was and is that his reforms were desirable ones, or at least that they were in the right direction, though in some things, I thought, carried out too quickly. I always felt, too, that it was a hard fate for Childers not having been able *himself* to carry out the first working of his own schemes, which I think very likely he would have modified. How mischievous it would have been if Cardwell had been obliged to resign to other hands the carrying into effect of the great Army changes he had arranged. He fortunately was able to set the machinery of his work in proper order before leaving office.

To Sir Andrew Clarke.

February 21, 1879.

Just a line about myself. I receive nothing but the warmest congratulations, Lord Minto and all the Elliot family highly approving, also Lord Granville, Lord Halifax, and my own relations on *all* sides. I feel supremely happy, and I hope to make her so.

Zulu affairs absorb all C.O. just now. I fear some one has made a great blunder, but whether Frere or Chelmsford or who, remains to be seen. Meanwhile, all poor Northcote's house of cards, the "spreading" over future years of payments which should be met at once, has tumbled down, and, in fact, the Government are in a sad mess. But they have a majority of eighty to a hundred.

February 27, 1879.

As to the future of Afghanistan sooner or later we must act. But just now Zululand has completely put India in the shade. These small wars seem to have a singular charm for the popular mind till the bill has to be paid. I have just been taking part in Northcote's third Budget debate for 1878-79, and he admits a deficit (to start 1879-80 with) of at least £6,000,000. So much for "spreading." Then the Zulu War will swallow up any possible surplus. I have not yet read the Zulu papers, but I fear there have been great blunders.

July 2, 1879.

I gave a Separation Day¹ dinner to Victorians at my house last night, which was a great success. I got Sir M. H. Beach, W. E. Forster, Herbert,² and the following old colonists, Sir C. Nicholson, Sir F. Murphy,³ Sir G. Verdon, Sir S. Wilson,⁴ Dalgety, J. D. Wood,⁵ Rae, Thomson, Professor Pearson,⁶ and F. Fitzgerald, Youl, and one or two more. Bishop Perry, Sir E. Williams, Sir H. Barkly, and one or two others, could not come.

July 11, 1879.

Poor Lady Waldegrave's⁷ death is the sad event of the week. It was awfully sudden, she having no notion of danger. I am going to the Prince Imperial's⁸ funeral to-morrow.

August 15, 1879.

I have just accepted a seat at the new Defence Commission, which is to report confidentially on all the Military and Naval Defences (out of England and India),

¹ Separation from New South Wales of Port Phillip District, christened Victoria. *Vide ante*, p. 37.

² Hon. Sir Robert Herbert, G.C.B., then Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies, formerly Premier of Queensland.

³ Sir Francis Murphy, formerly Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Victoria.

⁴ Of Ercildoune, Victoria, M.P. for Portsmouth, 1886-92.

⁵ Hon. John Dennistoun Wood, sometime Attorney-General of Victoria, an eloquent speaker, and courageous and consistent politician.

⁶ M.L.A. for Castlemaine, Victoria, afterwards Minister of Education.

⁷ Wife of Lord Carlingford; hostess of Strawberry Hill, then the great rendezvous of the Liberal Party.

⁸ Who had been killed in the Zulu War.

and will give me a great deal of information for the next two years. My colleagues are Lord Carnarvon, Sir Lintorn Simmons, Sir A. Milne, Sir H. Barkly, Sir H. Holland, and Brassey.¹ Lord Carnarvon took the chair. I shall work during the recess at some large questions, and do much more in the House than I have since 1873.

I have resigned my chairmanship of the G.W. of Canada Railway, and I expect to resign also my membership of the Board.

After General Roberts's victory, at the Peiwar Kotal in December, 1878, the Amir had fled and was succeeded by Yakub Khan, with whom we entered into the Treaty of Gundamuk. Under the terms of this treaty, the new Amir agreed to receive a Resident at his Court, and Major Cavagnari with a small escort proceeded to Cabul. A few weeks after his arrival there, an outbreak occurred, the Residency was attacked, and Cavagnari and his escort perished.

From Sir Andrew Clarke.

SIMLA, September 8, 1879.

The new volume in Indian history so full of danger and cost, and of which Lord Hartington spoke at the close of his speech of the 15th of August on the Afghan Treaty, has indeed been opened with a vengeance. There is no doubt—accepting even that the policy of sending an Envoy to Cabul was right—two grave errors have been committed—one was that there has been far too much haste in establishing the Envoy at Cabul. We ought to have allowed Yakub Khan to consolidate his authority, or, at least, have given him the chance of making himself the real ruler of Cabul. We have clearly gone there too soon. In fact, the new Amir has raised the suspicions of his own people. But having sent an Envoy, we ought to have sent a strong force with him, quite sufficient to overawe any Afghan army and to control the populace. This is, of course, a strange view for you in Europe to take; but the Afghans would have understood it, and accepted it, and, indeed, liked it, as they have done at Kandahar.

¹ Then M.P. for Hastings.

I always felt we were premature in sending an Envoy, and that when we did send him, he should have gone with a respectable force, certainly a brigade of the three arms. I am certain there would have been no difficulty or danger. However, it is too late now to discuss the point. We are in for a big business and a very big bill. We do not know yet what has become of the Amir, or even if he is alive. In his last to us (Thursday) he said he was left with only five followers.

This affair will do Ministers much damage; it is such a terrible collapse of the whole policy. Some here even think that Beaconsfield will recall Lytton; both Arbuthnot and Thompson, my colleagues, think he will be recalled.

My views are recorded and will come out some day, that when we first heard of the Russian Mission last (June) year in Afghanistan, if we had sent there clear and specific terms to Sher Ali, telling him then that we would do for him what we have now done for Yakub Khan, he would then have thrown himself back into our arms. Remember, Sher Ali, all the time the Russians were with him at Cabul, was always in fear that they would come to harm, and he took every precaution to guard them. Even Dost Mahomed always said that in Cabul he would not answer for the safety of a European.

I am anxious about Persia and Russia. Russia on the Persian Gulf will be a bad day for us in India.

To Sir Andrew Clarke.

September 11, 1879.

What a satire on the complacent despatches of a month ago is the massacre at Cabul. I try to keep my mind quite free, as of course the Amir may recover his power over the soldiery and mobs and may be innocent of any complicity, but I cannot help fearing that the Northbrook misgivings were well founded, and your Chief's advisers really did not know the Afghan. But the key of the question is Herat. It is Russia's object to be there, either in person or through Persia, and ours not to allow Herat to pass out of friendly hands.

September 17, 1879.

One of the few things in which I agree with Dizzy is his declaration that you should speak clearly to Russia.

In October, 1879, General Roberts advanced with an avenging army, and after crossing the Shutargarden Pass, occupied Cabul.

From Sir Andrew Clarke.

SIMLA, *September 25, 1879.*

Of course, long before this reaches you the occupation of Cabul and the advance into Afghanistan will have been completed, and the result will be known to you. These results will be, for the present, I think, very negative.

Hartington has hit the blot when he asks "Who is responsible for sending so small an escort?"

Poor Cavagnari in bidding me good-bye at this table the day before he left, admitted to me that he would be safer without an escort, than with so small a one.

We are still in doubt what part the Amir had in it. Poor devil! I fancy none in the first case; but he was too weak and too timid to interfere, and now he is hedging and playing with all sides.

To Sir Andrew Clarke.

October 9, 1879.

To-day we have the telegram with Sir F. Roberts's first brush with the Afghan force within a few miles of Cabul. By this time I imagine we are in the Citadel. Spencer will thus see some exciting service.

As to the larger question, what will you do with it? Yakub Khan is evidently not worth setting up again, and whom else have you got? Whatever you do, keep your eyes on Herat. Cabul, after all, is untenable as a fortress, and not worth much for trade. Its whole reputation rests on its antiquity and prestige, but Herat is the key to Central Asia, and must be under no one's authority who is not our friend.

October 23, 1879.

I saw in September a letter to Lord Melgund¹ from Simla, dated soon after Cavagnari went up, in which the writer said he hoped Cavagnari's friends would insure his life heavily!

We have heard of the Amir's resignation and of the Bala Hussar explosions. The former is thought by the papers to simplify matters, but I do not quite see it.

¹ Now Earl of Minto and Governor-General of Canada.

October 30, 1879.

I am very glad that S. reached General Roberts in time. We have a letter by this mail from him dated the 28th of September, in which he describes his pressing on, with nothing but his pony. He will have caught the General in two days.

No ; I am confident that if we have an election this winter the Liberal party will not win. We may gain, I dare say, on the balance, some twenty or thirty seats. But that will make us and the Home Rulers together just equal to the Tories, which would be worse, not better, than the present state of things. I don't think the majority of 1874 was an accident. I myself felt certain about it from my own observation. There is some reaction in the North, and the Dissenters who sulked in '74 are now active, but the jingo feeling nearly balances that.

Mr. and Mrs. Childers, accompanied by his daughter Louise, now went for a short trip to the West Indies.

TRINIDAD, December 1, 1879.

We have seen a good deal since I last wrote to you, both at Demerara and here. Here we have been ten days, and have seen the island thoroughly. It really has a great future, and I doubt not in thirty years will be one of the most populous and flourishing of our colonies.

CARACAS, December 10, 1879.

We have visited some places famous in history, notably Caracas and Puerto Cabello, the last of which we left this evening. Caracas is wonderful, a city of sixty thousand inhabitants, under a mountain nine thousand feet high, itself with a temperate climate (overcoat, blankets at night, etc.) in the hottest part of the world. We saw there the great Guzman Blanco,¹ the Napoleon I. of the country, a very pleasant man socially, but the most determined of despots. The drive here is fearful, twenty-nine miles over a mountain, but we broke no bones.

Puerto Cabello is a beautiful, strongly fortified harbour, the centre of a great coffee country, and the scene of sundry naval exploits in the old war.

To-morrow we are to be the guests of the Governor of Curaçoa for two days, and then we visit the principal towns of "The United States of Colombia," ending with Panama on the 20th.

¹ President of Venezuela.

CHAPTER IX.

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

1880.

General Election—Becomes Secretary of State for War—Maiwand Disaster—Relief of Candahar—Flogging in the Army—Visit to Ireland—Letters from Sir Beauchamp Seymour.

THE travellers returned home in January, 1880, and in March Parliament was dissolved. The elections testified to the success of the first Midlothian campaign, and unmistakably indicated Mr. Gladstone as the new Premier. Counting the Irish members as his supporters, he had a majority of 166. But Lord Granville and Lord Hartington, who had chivalrously led the Liberal party in its darkest hour, had an undoubted right to be consulted in the first instance.

On the 21st April, Mr. Childers wrote :—

The clubs think that Hartington will be sent for to-morrow. The coolness with which all these delays are going on would do much harm, and there would be more outcry, but that it is felt that nothing can really get round a majority of 170. Our Afghan job will not be light, and if Turkey crumbles up at once we shall indeed have inherited something *damnosum*.

From Mrs. Childers's Journal. .

April 22, 1880.—Dined at Lady Reay's.¹ Met Mr. and

¹ She was a dear and intimate friend of Mrs. Childers. Lord and Lady Reay, Lord and Lady Minto, and Lady Russell, the widow of the Whig Premier, were among the numerous friends Mr. Childers's second marriage brought him.

Mrs. Gladstone, Lord and Lady Tweeddale, Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Lord and Lady Selborne, Lord and Lady Dalrymple, Mr. Grant Duff,¹ Mr. Forster, Mr. John Morley, Miss Gladstone.

It was known that Lord Hartington had been with the Queen, but only a few people knew that he had come back and had had an interview with Mr. Gladstone, and was to see the Queen again the next morning.

Mr. Gladstone took me in to dinner and sat on Lady Reay's right hand. He looked very well, and seemed in very good spirits. I congratulated him upon being so well, after all his labours in Midlothian, and he said that he had driven about so much, and that the air had done him so much good. Speaking of the idea that people who live in mountainous countries are usually very imaginative, he said he doubted this, and we began then to speak of Italy, where certainly there is plenty of imagination, and where, he said, the people did not live much amongst mountains, excepting just close to the Apennines and in the North of Italy.

I remarked how constantly the little Italian towns were built on the summits of hills, or, rather, of small knolls, and he said, "Oh yes, but that was for defence." Then I said I had noticed how different it was as to the towns in Greece; that I had noticed in coasting along the Morea, the towns were all built on the plains. He said, "Yes, it is so, and I think there is some reason for this. I feel there is something I ought to know about this, some special reason for the Greeks having built their towns on the plains." He said two or three times, "I feel there is something I ought to know about this;" and it seemed quite to distress him that he could not remember what it was.

He told Lady Reay and me a very good story about old Dr. Keate at Eton.

It appears that, being somewhat addicted to flogging the boys, he always had the names of those doomed to be punished written down on a long narrow bit of paper. One day he found a long narrow bit of paper with several boys' names written upon it, and ordered them to come up to be flogged. He never allowed the boys on these occasions to give any explanation or to say a word; and so, one after another they all received their chastisement, and afterwards it turned out that instead of the flogging list it was a list of the boys who were about to be confirmed.

¹ Now Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff.

He went on to speak a good deal about Eton, and of its being, as he called it, quite a pagan school at that time, though he said that there were five boys just above him, all of whom were very religious, and became in after life extremely good, and some of them very distinguished men.

Amongst them were Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand, and Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury. He spoke with great praise of the old religious customs being kept up, such as the going to chapel, and told me that it had been the Eton etiquette to take your Prayer-book with you to church on Sunday but not on weekdays. A poor new boy who arrived on a Saturday took his Prayer-book to chapel with him, and the other boys called him a Methodist; he thought he wouldn't be called a Methodist, so the next day, Sunday, he went to chapel without his Prayer-book, and the boys called him an Atheist.

Mr. Gladstone spoke with great pleasure of going down to Eton (as he generally does once a year),¹ to give a lecture on Homer; and he said how interesting it was to feel that you were speaking to boys who were destined, probably, some of them in future years to play a great part in the history of their country. And, as he said this, there came that strange, far-away look into his eyes, as if he was looking down the vista of coming years into futurity.

Mr. Gladstone then asked me a good deal about Cardinal Manning, and whether I remembered the opinion generally held of him when at Chichester,² and said that he supposed no one had done more harm to the Church³ than he had done, owing to the great influence he had over many minds.

He also told me, speaking of Eton, that in his day the Sixth Form were obliged to receive the Holy Communion, and that the idea certainly existed, but he was not sure whether it was really well founded, that it was only the Sixth Form who were permitted to do so.

Mr. Gladstone told Lady Reay that Agnew,⁴ the great picture dealer, is the proprietor of *Punch*, and has been for some time, and the way he knew it was this. Agnew arrived at Hawarden one day, and begged to be allowed

¹ He did so at any rate in 1878 and 1879.

² Of which he had been Archdeacon.

³ Church of England.

⁴ Sir William Agnew, of Bradbury, Agnew & Co., then M.P. for South-east Lancashire.

to see the house. It was not, I believe, one of the days on which it was generally shown, but he was allowed to see it, and when he went away he asked some of the family if they would like to see *Punch*. Upon their asking how he was able to show it them before the day of publication, his answer was, "I am the proprietor."

In the evening several people came, but there was a most curious sensation of something in the air, something of which every one was thinking, and yet of which no one spoke. Lady Selborne looked anxious, and said to me how glad she would be when this suspense was over.

Friday, April 23.—No political news, beyond the fact that Lord Granville and Lord Hartington had both gone down together to Windsor, and had then gone to Mr. Gladstone, who, in about an hour's time, also went down to see her Majesty.

The following day Mr. Childers received a short note from Mr. Gladstone, asking him to call the next morning, and saying that he had undertaken to form a Government, and had indeed accepted the double office at the Treasury. "I need hardly say," he added, "that my object is to obtain your aid."

Twelve years before, Mr. Gladstone had called him to the Admiralty to propose and carry through, in the teeth of a very bitter opposition, changes in the long-established customs of the Navy, affecting the prospects and promotion of many influential officers. Once more he found himself called upon to undertake a similar task in Pall Mall—a task most repugnant to his feelings.

From his Wife's Journal.

April 23, 1880.—Hugh said that if Mr. Gladstone took the Exchequer, as he had reason to think he would (Mr. Forster having told him so), he saw nothing for himself but the War Office, and that was *the* one of all the great offices which he did not wish to have. He did not wish to cleanse a second Augean stable. He doubted very

much whether he would not refuse it, if offered to him ; but then he must be out of the Cabinet. Anyway the War Office he very much disliked the idea of.

What he would have liked would have been either the Exchequer or to have gone out to India ; and, curiously enough, Mr. Forster had himself suggested the latter idea.

From the Right Hon. W. E. Forster.

80, ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W., *Sunday evening.*

The day before yesterday, when talking matters over with Gladstone, I *did* suggest you for India—strongly, but entirely from myself, and I stated that I believed the India papers wished for you. . . .

But the Marquis of Ripon was appointed Governor-General of India and Colonel Charles Gordon was gazetted to his Staff as Private Secretary, a post apparently not greatly to the taste of the latter.

From Colonel Gordon to Sir A. Clarke.

May 4, 1880.

I have to be at Lord Ripon's from ten till three p.m. . . . Transition from a "comet" to a "satellite" is not over pleasurable to yours sincerely.

To his Son, Spencer.

May 14, 1880.

. . . Sir A. Clarke and Colonel Gordon go out with Lord Ripon, and also young Brett,¹ whom you will remember at Eton. . . .

Before starting for India, Colonel Gordon (who was a friend of Mr. Childers) sent him a little keepsake.

¹ Eugene Brett, lieutenant Grenadier Guards, second son of the first Lord Esher, died during the Egyptian War, 1882.

From Colonel Charles Gordon.

MY DEAR MRS. CHILDERS,—I would like to have come and seen you ere I left, but I could not be sure of seeing you, as I should be so engaged at the time when you might be in. I am sending you a little book for Mr. Childers's office table; he will not mind it. I feel from experience how one needs such a help. In these promises we have the full assurance that, however dark things may look, there is a happy issue.

I wish Mr. Childers and yourself and family every happiness. I hope God will lighten your husband's burden.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—I feel confident of Lord Ripon's success, because he asks counsel of the Lord.¹

The little book, which had its place from that day on Mr. Childers's writing-table, was a copy of Clarke's "Scripture Promises," the page (37) was turned down where these words were recorded: "He shall deliver thee in six troubles yea in seven there shall no evil touch thee," and "The Lord preserveth the faithful;" even in his busiest moments Gordon never forgot the Master whom he so fearlessly and faithfully served.

From Cardinal Manning.

ROME, May 1, 1880.

MY DEAR MR. CHILDERS,—In my last audience with the Holy Father, he spoke and made many inquiries about you, with much kindness and interest. He desired me to send you his blessing; and when I told him of your marriage, he sent his blessing also to Mrs. Childers. Pray give her² also my kind regards, and say that when I return I hope I may have the pleasure of seeing you both. I left England the day before the Elections began. You

¹ The sequel of this appointment of Gordon's will be found recorded in Vol. II. p. 4.

² Her father had been Bishop of Chichester, and Manning Archdeacon.

have been lifted upon the top of a wave which nobody looked for. And you will have to deal with Ireland; and will be better able to deal with it than others; and your great majority will enable you to do it surely. But I am very Irish in my sympathies, and I hope for some measures which will be felt in the homes of the poor.

Believe me always,

Very truly yours,

HENRY E., CARD. ARCHBISHOP.

As had seemed inevitable, it was to the War Office that Mr. Childers was destined to go, to arrest a reaction which had set in threatening to undermine the policy of Lord Cardwell.

To Mr. Roger Eykyn, M.P.¹

May 4, 1880.

It was a great pleasure to me to receive your kind note. I have got a very heavy task before me, with an innumerable number of lions in my path, but I do not shrink from either the work or the responsibility. Fortunately, though there is every unagreeable variety of opinion on Army subjects, I find in the War Office none of that discreditable bickering and backbiting which was prevalent in the Admiralty in 1868.

To his Son, Spencer.

May 5, 1880.

. . . We are now all in harness, and we shall all be re-elected; without opposition, I expect, except Harcourt at Oxford.² I have made a start at the War Office, and I shall be very quiet for some time, getting up the more important questions, of which a long list has been left for me to settle. I have very pleasant Under-Secretaries in Lord Morley³ and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, and Sir John Adye comes to me as Surveyor-General of the Ordnance. I only trust he will find a seat in the House. My private secretaries are Captain Lyttelton⁴ of the Rifle Brigade,

¹ M.P. for Windsor, 1866-74.

² On seeking re-election Sir William Harcourt was defeated by Mr. A. W. Hall.

³ Now Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords.

⁴ Now General Lyttelton.

and Captain George FitzGeorge, the Duke's son ; the latter having been in the same place with Colonel Stanley.

Your account of recent operations is really alarming, and I am going to read up the official reports, which have just come to me in print.

The son to whom this letter was addressed was at this time serving with the Army under General Roberts in Cabul, and the last paragraph referred to the war which still continued in Afghanistan. But the clouds were beginning to lift in that direction ; Abdul Rahman was on his way to the British camp, and it was hoped that he would be able to take over the government of the country, and that the Army of Occupation might soon be withdrawn.

To his Son, Spencer.

WAR OFFICE, *July 2, 1880.*

. . . The Afghanistan news is becoming very exciting, and I fear we shall have very great difficulty in choosing between Yakub Khan and Abdul Rahman. It is very interesting to get daily telegrams from the India Office. One reads much more as a member of the Cabinet than I did in '69-70, everything of importance being now circulated in print.

WAR OFFICE, *July 8, 1880.*

Your two letters of the 23rd and 29th of May arrived together, and the accompanying map has enabled us to trace your proceedings very easily. You must be having not a very bad time of it, barring the feeling that no good can really be done, and that you must be kept where you are till the cool weather. The problem to us as between Abdul Rahman and Yakub Khan is a most puzzling one, shifting about almost from day to day ; and it is not pleasant to feel that the country (Afghanistan) is all the time against us, and that whichever we take up will probably be, for that very reason, unacceptable. But this is what we all prophesied as the necessary outcome of the Afghan War, though we little thought that it would fall to our lot to have our own predictions to defend ourselves from in office.

On the 28th July the India Office received from the Governor-General the news of the disaster at Maiwand. Lord Hartington in sending it on wrote: "I fear that the consequences of this disaster may be very serious as regards the whole position in Afghanistan."

To his Son, Spencer.

WAR OFFICE, July 29, 1880.

Yesterday arrived the first telegrams about General Burrows's defeat, and, as you may imagine, I am hard at work on the arrangements to send reinforcements to India, and that just at a time when we have to add to our force in Ireland.

I hope the blow will not be felt at Cabul. But I have always considered that we were merely holding the ground on which we stood, and that both or all parties in Afghanistan hated us about equally. Now at last, perhaps, people's eyes will be open to the folly of Lord Lytton's policy, and the entire breakdown of Sir Henry Rawlinson's prophecies. But there is no use crying over spilt milk. We should try to spill as little more as we can help.

From Sir Henry Ponsonby.

OSBORNE, August 2, 1880.

It is perhaps too early to form any definite opinion on the probable consequences of the disaster near Candahar, but it is evident that more troops will be required in India, for some little time at any rate.

The Queen therefore trusts that no reductions in the Army are contemplated, and asks whether, on the contrary, an increase should not be thought of.

Mr. Childers replied that, after full consideration, he proposed to make ready, for immediate service in India, six more battalions, and to invite 3000 men from the Army and Militia Reserve to volunteer for the remainder of their service.

Happily the disaster of Maiwand was retrieved so completely by the rapid march of Sir Frederick Roberts and his Division to the relief of Candahar, and by his

subsequent defeat of Ayub Khan, that the reinforcements were not required; and the withdrawal of Sir Donald Stewart from Cabul, after handing over the government of Afghanistan to the new Amir (Abdul Rahman), was successfully carried out.

From the Marquis of Ripon.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SIMLA, *September 14, 1880.*

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th August.

The complete success of Roberts's march and victory will, I am afraid, have somewhat disconcerted the military critics of Pall Mall; but we had always great confidence here in the result of his movement.

Ever solicitous for the welfare of her Army, the Queen wrote often and fully on various points connected with its improvement and efficiency.

From Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *May 15, 1880.*

The Queen commands me to let you know that I have by her Majesty's command communicated to Mr. Gladstone the Queen's hope that officers on service may not be deprived of the only power they possess of keeping young troops in order, viz. by inflicting corporal punishment in the extreme cases of cowardice, treachery, plundering, or neglect of duty on sentry.

The Queen hates the system of flogging, but sees no alternative in extreme cases on active service.

Her Majesty trusts you will listen to the opinion of officers recently returned from the war.

To the Queen.

May 18, 1880.

Mr. Childers, with his humble duty to your Majesty, desires to assure your Majesty that he will carefully consider, in consultation with officers of the greatest experience, what punishments can be substituted for flogging, in the extreme cases of offences on active service, for which it can now be inflicted. Although Mr. Childers did not take any prominent part in the debates

on the subject of flogging during the last session, he carefully watched the debates, and he arrived at the conclusion that it would be difficult to maintain the compromise adopted by the late Government and the House of Commons. This difficulty he feels would be insurmountable in the present House; but Mr. Childers humbly assures your Majesty that he will spare no pains to arrive, if possible, at a solution of the question which will preserve the necessary power of officers to keep their men in order, and to repress serious offences.

From the Queen.

OSBORNE, July 25, 1880.

The Queen perceives that a question is to be asked in the House of Commons with reference to the colonelcy conferred on General Macdonald.¹

The Queen hopes that in answering this Mr. Childers will not pledge himself to any future arrangement about the colonelcies of regiments. If these appointments are unfairly given, it would be easy to secure amendment in disposing of them.

But the Queen is strongly opposed to the proposal for abolishing these colonelcies, which are so much prized as rewards to distinguished officers and others who take a real interest in their corps.

The value of the distinction is greatly increased by giving a connection with a particular regiment; while the corps itself benefits by the interest taken in its welfare by the colonel.

The Queen cannot believe that Mr. Childers desires to destroy all *esprit de corps*, or to weaken the pride which officers feel in their regiments; yet a step of this nature would do much to check these feelings and to sever the good understanding that has hitherto existed between officers and their men, which the Queen deeply regrets to hear is already seriously impaired.

26th. This letter ought to have gone yesterday. The Queen has therefore telegraphed on the subject to Mr. Childers.

Mr. Trevelyan had asked in the House of Commons whether General Macdonald had been given an Hon.

¹ Lieut.-General the Hon. James W. B. Macdonald, C.B., Private Secretary to H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief.

Colonelcy at £1350 a year, not having done military duty as a General, but having for many years been Private Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief. Mr. Childers had replied that General Macdonald had been appointed colonel of a regiment at £1000 a year, gaining thus in income £450 a year; that he had not done military duty as a General, but being in receipt of a good service pension and a C.B., was eligible by custom; there were no written rules as to a colonelcy of a regiment.

To the Queen.

July 27, 1880.

Mr. Childers, with his humble duty to your Majesty, regrets that he only got the cypher telegram some hours after answering Mr. Trevelyan's question. Had he received it in time, he would have answered more vaguely; but his answer only expressed the opinion that the existing system of pay and pension for generals was unsatisfactory, that it would be better at some future day to make the colonelcies honorary, and that meanwhile he was not prepared to alter the rates, as he had said at some length at previous debates.

Mr. Childers is aware of the importance of maintaining *esprit de corps*, and would rather increase than impair it, but doubts whether giving pay to an hon. colonelcy, which is only obtained after many years on £450 a year (in Mr. Childers's opinion inadequate pay), really promotes *esprit de corps*. The system in the Navy by which a rear-admiral on promotion to vice-admiral receives increase of pay, and again when promoted admiral, is more logical, more popular, and more advantageous to service. Another reason why the present system cannot be maintained in the present Parliament is that, but for Mr. Childers's answer, Mr. Trevelyan's motion would have been carried, and unless such change can be indicated in moving Estimates next year, pay of hon. colonels will be struck out, against every exertion of the Government. Any proposal will be fully deliberated with due regard to vested interests.

From Sir Henry Ponsonby.

July 28, 1880.

The Queen commands me to thank you for your letter.

Her Majesty regrets that her telegram reached you so late. The reply you gave to Mr. Trevelyan intimated your desire to maintain the colonelcies in some form, and you will, no doubt, explain to the Queen your views upon this subject in full when they are matured.

What her Majesty asks is, that you should not pledge yourself to any definite course which you might find next year to be inexpedient, but which you could not then abandon without breach of faith, or carry on without detriment to the public service.

To the Queen.

Mr. Childers will conform to her Majesty's commands. In giving explanation to the House of Commons, he has to take into account the fact that a majority of 160 is pledged to administrative reform in this Parliament, in the late the majority was satisfied with the existing state of things. While anxious to avoid giving pledges as to future policy in Army administration, Mr. Childers can hardly treat such questions in debate with as great reserve as the Secretary of State in the last Parliament. Mr. Childers has referred to language which he used in debate on Mr. Trevelyan's motion, and finds his answer to question about General Macdonald does not go beyond the expression of the opinion which he gave on that occasion.

From Sir Henry Ponsonby.

BALMORAL, September 2, 1880.

You will have heard from Lord Granville that, in compliance with your wish, the Queen will not ask you to come to Balmoral this autumn.

The Queen regrets being deprived of the pleasure of seeing you here, and is also sorry at missing the opportunity of discussing personally with you the plans you are considering for the Army.

Her Majesty hopes you will keep her well informed of what you think of doing, and that you will give her the power of commenting on any proposals before they are matured.

To Sir Henry Ponsonby.

WAR OFFICE, September 4, 1880.

May I ask you to inform her Majesty, with reference

to your note of the 2nd inst., that I am greatly obliged to her for excusing me from attendance on her during the early part of the autumn? I am extremely tired after the hard work of my office and late hours in the House during the last few weeks, and I require an absolute, although it must be a very short holiday.

I shall only have three weeks, which I propose to spend in the West of Ireland, in order to see something of the distressed districts, and on my return on the 1st of October we shall all work hard at the innumerable questions of importance in connection with the Army which I inherited on taking office. To this I intend to devote the whole of October and November, and I shall, of course, keep her Majesty well informed of the results of our discussions as they proceed. But if her Majesty would allow me to see her before our principal measures come before the Cabinet, I should be very glad of the opportunity of laying our views before her more fully than can be done in letters. I could not well indicate any exact date now, as this must partly depend on the progress we make, and partly on the time at which it will be convenient to take up Army questions at the Cabinet.

May I ask you to let me know if this meets with her Majesty's approval?

Mr. Childers visited Enniskillen, Galway, Limerick, Tralee, and Killarney, and endeavoured to ascertain the views of all parties on the land question in Ireland.

Among a file of papers containing addresses of corporations, newspaper cuttings, and private letters on the subject of this tour, was the following minute on the Land Question drawn up by General Gordon:—

Landlords in north-west,¹ and west, and south-west of Ireland possess huge districts, in which the people live on the verge of starvation, and to whom no amount of relief can do any good. Between these people and their landlords exists a gulf of antipathy: they may be said to be down-spirited, devoid of hope; and, knowing that nothing they can do will render their position worse, they are desperate,

¹ Longford, Westmeath, Clare, Cork, Kerry, Galway, Limerick, Lechburn, Sligo, Cavan, Donegal.

and open to any violent measures, although for the past and present they show wonderful patience.

The Government purchase of these huge districts, with a Waste Land Commission to govern them, would detach these people from the agitators of the country, would remove any antipathy between them and their present landlords, and much diminish the intensity of the present feeling.

With the Waste Land Commission, there should be an Emigration Commission. These two commissions would deal with the state of the inhabitants of the desert parts, and should have no landlords or landlord agents on their boards.

The purchase of these desert lands should include the giving up of all manorial rights of the present landlords, fisheries, etc.

Taking the *malcontents*, so called, of west, north-west, and south-west at 2,500,000, taking the value of property at £4,000,000 per annum, the purchase at fifteen years¹ would be £60,000,000, interest at 3½ per cent. would be £2,100,000, and we may expect that under the Waste Land Commission, the Government might get back £2,000,000, which would diminish the rate of interest on purchase money £2,000,000, leaving a deficit of interest of £100,000.

Perhaps £500,000 would be required *provisionally* for the Emigration Commission.

The landlords or their agents should not be allowed any say in Poor Law relief, schools, or in the government of the country, at any rate for the next five years. Stipendiary alien magistrates should be appointed, in order to prevent spite on part of the ex-landlords.

The endowment of a Catholic university should be granted, at a cost of £2,000,000.

By these means at any rate things would be quiet for two years.

C. G. GORDON.

P.S.—This relates to the huge estates held in north-west, west, and south-west. For the other parts of Ireland, a Government valuation, a fixity of tenure, and free sale.

November 24, 1880.

¹ Confiscated estates, fifteen years' purchase; purchased estates, twenty years' purchase.

Late in the autumn, on his return from Ireland, he went to Balmoral as Minister in attendance.

To Mr. Gladstone.

BALMORAL, November 13, 1880.

The Queen told me yesterday that she proposed to hold the Council on either the 10th or 11th, and asked me what I could do about staying here. I said that, although I greatly regretted being absent from so many Cabinets, I would stay here till the morning of the 18th, so as to go through to town during the night of the 18th-19th. I have work at the War Office on the 19th from which I ought not to be absent. She asked me to telegraph to Lord Cowper for news, especially with reference to what may happen at Captain Boycott's¹ to-day, and I have done so. She has asked me a good many questions about the *personnel* of the Home Rulers and Land Leaguers. As yet she has said nothing to me about military matters, except that she has approved the medal for the Afghan campaign. The Princess is better, and was able to be at dinner to-day.

One of the first departmental measures which Mr. Childers urged on entering office was the introduction of the telephone. His experience of its advantages had doubtless been gained in connection with the Canadian and American railway offices, during his recent chairmanship of the Great Western Railway of Canada. At this time (1880) England was behind America in electrical appliances, and telephones were unheard of in Government offices.

To Mr. Gladstone.

May 26, 1880.

Has it ever occurred to you that great saving of time and money would result if the principal offices in London were able to communicate by telephone? It would only be necessary to have one central room with a single clerk, who would put any office requiring it into telephonic

¹ These proceedings enriched the English language with the verb "boycott."

communication with another. From some difficulty about patents, we in England are very behindhand about the telephone ; but, to my personal knowledge, it is universally used in America, and with undoubted advantage. Of course this would be generally unpopular in the departments, as certain to lead to reductions.

January 5, 1881.

May I remind you, even at this busy time, of my proposal about the telephone between Government offices? We are at this moment in constant communication with the Admiralty, Colonial Office, India Office, etc., and the loss of time occasioned by having to send about clerks and messengers is really no small matter. I believe either the telegraph or the telephone connects the public offices of every other civilized country.

This reminder was followed shortly after by the installation of a telephone line from the War Office to other public departments and to the House of Commons.

In 1876, while in opposition, he had served as chairman of a select committee on the employment of soldiers and sailors in civil departments,¹ and now that he was in office he was anxious to see some of his recommendations carried into effect.

To Mr. Gladstone.

November 8, 1881.

The question of the employment of soldiers and sailors in civil departments after the completion of their service has often been the subject of questions and debates in Parliament, the object being to give additional inducements to good men to become and continue non-commissioned officers. In 1876 a Select Committee of the House of Commons, of which I was chairman, sat on this subject, and they reported in July, 1877. Among other recommendations they proposed that all future selections of messengers should be exclusively made from men who had served in the Army or Navy. Mr. Hardy² wrote to the Treasury on the 1st of October, 1877,

¹ *Ante*, p. 241.

² Secretary for War, 1874-1878.

asking if they would institute any inquiry as to the practicability of this. On the 8th of November, 1880, I wrote to the Treasury, again raising the question. The answer was that nothing short of an Order in Council would effect what was wanted where messengers are not appointed under an Act of Parliament, and where they are so appointed no exercise of the prerogative could attach this condition. It was added that no Order in Council on this subject could be submitted to the Queen without the authority of the Cabinet. I had previously no idea that messengers were persons of such importance, and that while it was comparatively easy to settle the qualifications of naval and military officers, civilian clerks, etc., such difficulties existed as to them. But I venture to ask you to consider the question. It is of great importance to the Army to give good prospects to deserving non-commissioned officers. It is recognized in the highest degree in France and Germany, and, indeed, everywhere else except here. On this we took most interesting evidence from the military *attachés*, and others. Could not the terrible obstacles enumerated by the Treasury be got out of the way?

The question of officers of the Army on full pay being returned as Members of Parliament was referred by him to the Speaker (Mr. Brand),¹ who replied as follows:—

From the Speaker.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, December 17, 1880.

The question which you have brought under my notice is not new to me, and I am well aware of the difficulty by which it is beset.

How is a man to serve the Crown and the People at the same time?

In former days, when the service of the People involved little personal attendance on the House, the two services might be combined in one person; but in these days faithful service both of Crown and People is almost impossible, except under particular circumstances.

Looking at this matter from a War Office point of view, it seems to me that the true course to take is to

¹ Right Hon. Henry Brand, M.P., afterwards Viscount Hampden.

"second" all officers on full pay who obtain seats in Parliament.

But then the question arises, What would the House of Commons say to this? It might be contended that the Crown was imposing a penalty or disqualification on the choice of the People *if the pay was stopped*. And the further question arises, Should the pay be stopped?

I say that this is a matter essentially for the judgment of the House itself.

It has occurred to me that this point might be brought to an issue in point of form by your framing a formal minute or circular, adopting the principle of seconding, and remitting the question of pay to the judgment of the House, either by formal resolution, or by the appointment of a committee, or by tacit assent after debate on the Army Estimates.

I throw out these ideas for your consideration.

An important principle is thus involved, and will require much deliberation before action is taken. What will the First Lord of the Admiralty say upon the matter?

I have consulted May,¹ and he rather leans to the appointment of a committee; but I am not without fear lest the committee should hesitate on a question of privilege, and so leave matters as they are.

Mr. Childers's former private secretary at the Admiralty was a lively correspondent, and kept him *au courant* with affairs in the Mediterranean.

From Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour.

"HELICON," ALEXANDRIA, April 30, 1880.

Little did we think on the 3rd of February, when I last had the pleasure of dining with you, that in less than three months you would again be in the Cabinet, or that such a complete *bouleversement* of the Beaconsfield apple-cart would take place. I wish you were at the Admiralty instead of at the War Office; but one can't have all one wants in this world, and Northbrook has experience of that department and should do it well. I am here in the

¹ Sir Thomas Erskine May (afterwards Lord Farnborough), Clerk of the House of Commons, and the great authority on its practice.

Helicon for twenty-four hours just to look around me. I left Malta on the 4th, got to the Piræus on the 6th, and found it, as usual, full of men-of-war, why, I can't conceive. The French admiral, who has three ironclads with him, *Provence*, *Reine Blanche*, and *Jeanne d'Arc*, told me that he had been fourteen weeks there, and the Russian ironclad *Prince Pojassky* had been there nearly as long.

I reached Constantinople on the 12th, where the first thing I got was a telegram announcing that my nephew¹ had come in for North Northamptonshire at the head of the poll, whereat my heart rejoiced.

Layard² put me up, and was civil enough. He is in a state of mind, naturally, as to what his fate will be, and I hardly know what to wish in the case. There is one subject on which he and I would certainly differ, and that is as to the necessity of keeping our squadron close to the Dardanelles. I told him that I intended to take it the summer cruise about the end of May, and that I had arranged with the Admiralty to do so, on which he said that he was doing all in his power to have us ordered to Besika Bay, but on my begging him to tell me what there was to call for our presence there, he could not give me an answer, beyond saying that we ought to be there in case of an emergency. On this subject I will write to you again.

I had an interview with the Sultan, who, I am happy to say, did not offer me either a horse or a diamond snuff-box. After calling in at five or six harbours in the Archipelago and on the mainland, I went to Cyprus, and everything that I saw there confirmed me in my opinion that we are entirely in a false position there. You knew my ideas on the subject when, at Strawberry Hill³ one afternoon, we were just informed of its having been ceded to us, and we talked the matter over. There is not a harbour on the island; Famagusta, by an expenditure of £200,000 or so, might be made into one, but nothing will make either Larnaca or Limasol into a safe anchorage during the winter months. At Famagusta there is no trade, that at Larnaca is falling off, and will continue to fall

¹ Hon. (now Right Hon.) C. R. Spencer. He sat for that constituency till the Redistribution of 1885, thence till 1895 for Mid-Northants. In that year he lost his seat, regaining it in 1900.

² Sir Austen Henry Layard, then Envoy Extraordinary and Minister at the Porte.

³ Residence of Lady Waldegrave: in old days of Horace Walpole.

until it has been finally decided whether Cyprus is to be retained by the English or not. At Limasol matters look more flourishing than in any of the other ports ; but, altogether, one cannot help being impressed with the idea that if we wanted Cyprus as a sort of *tête de pont* to the Suez Canal we should have bought it out and out. Far better it would have been never to have gone near the island than to hold it on the tenure we do. The Turk must chuckle at us enacting the part of the tax-gatherers for him and saving him all the expenses of collecting them.

What angered me most about Cyprus, though, was the sight of thousands upon thousands' worth of Government stores lying rotting in the sun and perishing in the rain, just where they were deposited by the working parties from the Channel Squadron in 1878, no attempt having been made by the military or civil authorities to cover them in. We have cleared out all the naval stores, I am happy to say, with the exception of two fire-engines and two or three buoys, but a pretty state we found the troop boats, etc., in. Altogether, I shall not break my heart if I never set eyes on Cyprus again, unless your Government will harden their hearts and buy it out and out.

We left Limasol on the 28th and ran over to Port Said to get some coal, there not being a pound of that commodity for sale in Cyprus. I must say that the coal contractors at Port Said deserve credit. They put on board a hundred and ten tons of the best Welsh coal, at twenty-three shillings a ton, in sixty-five minutes.

I came away the same evening and got in here in eighteen hours. My object in visiting Alexandria was to see the improvements in the harbour works which have been made since 1872, and very complete they are ; but to make them perfect, there should be a further expenditure of from £370,000 to £420,000.

Blomfield, who was commander of the *Agincourt* during our cruise with the Naval Reserve in 1869,¹ is Captain of the Port of Alexandria, and, by his account, affairs in Egypt are looking up. Here, at all events, every one is paid, and the Khedive does not chuck his money *par dessus les moulins* as his predecessor did.

There are three magnificent yachts lying close to us ; in one the Khedive is shortly going to Constantinople, as he has raised £40,000 to take as backshish to the Sultan, and he had to go there sooner or later.

¹ *Ante*, p. 170.

We have just got telegrams from England which are very unsatisfactory with respect to the *Atalanta*. I do most sincerely hope that we have been spared a second *Eurydice*¹ business.

The nominations to the different posts are given, with the exception of some of the smaller ones, and that to the Viceroyalty of Ireland. "Sir Fortescue Carlingford" is appointed to Constantinople,² according to the French papers. I shall be very glad if that is the case. It would be the best thing possible for him, poor fellow.

When you have heaps of time, write me a line, please ; though I can hardly expect to hear from you while you are in the agonies of shaking down, and tell me what is going to be our line about Cyprus, if you can do so without a breach of confidence.

If you should see Andey Clarke, please give him my love, and tell him I will write to him, though I don't know his address.

From Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

ADMIRALTY HOUSE, MALTA, May 29, 1880.

Having just got through my Queen's Birthday dinner, at which we managed thirty without the least of a squeeze, I will devote an hour or so to thanking you for your capital letter of the 19th from Windsor, and to answering your questions : and first as to Cyprus.

You know how opposed I was to the policy of our acquiring it in the way and at the time we did. My opinion remains precisely the same—that we ought never to have gone near it, but we have done so, and, for better or for worse, have the island on our hands. Were I the arbiter of its destinies I should consider that there are but two courses to pursue with respect to it :—

- (1) To give it up ;
- (2) To buy it out and out.

No half-way measures will answer. Against our giving it up to the Turks must be set the feeling of Europe against such a proceeding, the loss of prestige that we should sustain thereby, and, to a certain extent, the breach

¹ H.M.S. *Eurydice* foundered, March 24, 1878, off Ventnor.

² Right Hon. Chichester Fortescue, created Lord Carlingford, whose wife, Lady Waldegrave, had recently died. He had been in every Liberal Government from 1854 to 1874. In April, 1881, he became Lord Privy Seal.

of faith of which we should be accused by the few speculators who have invested in land or otherwise in consequence of our having occupied the island; besides, it does not do to give up anything in these days—*vide* Bismarck, *passim*.

By the terms of the treaty, we are precluded from giving up the island to any one but its owners—this, of course, puts a rendition of it to Greece out of the question, in addition to which, one has only to go to Athens to see that Greece has now more land than she can or will cultivate and keep in order. Therefore proposal the first falls to the ground, and No. 2 must be taken into consideration.

The arguments against our buying it out and out are that it would be years before it would pay its expenses, that you would have to put the screw on the Porte to make the Sultan sell it to you, and that, in addition to the purchase-money, you must incur a vast expenditure in the construction of roads and in making a harbour in Famagusta. Neither Larnaca nor Limasol is capable of being made anything but a summer anchorage, and a very bad one, too, from the breeze that gets up and the swell that sets in four days out of five, between 10 a.m. and 9 p.m.; but in favour of the measure it may be said that we have already spent a very large sum of money on and in Cyprus, that its strategical position with respect to the Suez Canal of the present and the Euphrates railway of the future leaves little to be desired, that we should incur no more obloquy by owning it than we have already incurred by hiring it, and that, if in our own hands, all money spent in it would benefit England and not Turkey. I believe that in a very few years we could almost people Cyprus from Malta and from Syria, and that by a judicious system of irrigation its former fertility in cereals might be restored. Therefore I say reluctantly, "Buy;" do anything, however, than retain it on the terms on which you now hold it, for you are scattering your money to no purpose, and while there is a chance of a Turkish re-occupation, there can be no prospect of any permanent investment being made.

With respect to ourselves out here. I like much what I have seen of the ships under my command. Hornby left the squadron in very good gunnery order, very clean and well kept, fairly smart aloft, and—were it not for the yearly increase in insubordination consequent on the

(practical) disuse of the cat—in good discipline; but the amount of insubordination is a very serious matter. It is annually increasing, and invariably takes one of two forms, positively refusing to obey an order, or striking petty officers. I have just finished the examination of the quarterly returns, and have been impressed with the dangers ahead. Twenty years ago there was not one-tenth the amount there is now of this crime, which seems to have taken the place of the former drunkenness. You know that I hate flogging, and that during my service as captain I managed to get along without much of it; but then the men knew well enough that I would have resorted to it if driven to do so—now they know well enough that the cat is tabooed. It is not the older hands that give the trouble, it is the young fellows between eighteen and twenty-two and twenty-three; and if I had the power (which I have not while the Corradino prison here is available) of making an example or two, I am convinced that it would be mercy in the long run. I always thought that our party took the wrong line last year when the debates on the subject went on.

Goschen got to Constantinople on Friday, and Layard, I hear, leaves on Tuesday.

What is to become of the Turk? I do not think he will last even my time out here. It is universal bankruptcy, *pur et simple*, and must end in revolution. I am very, very sorry for the soldiery, the peasants, and for a few of the Pachas whom I have met—a very few; the remainder, from the wretched Sultan downwards, I do not pity in the least. I suppose that when the screw comes, the Russians will try and get hold of the best of the Turkish ironclads, two or three of which are very fine ships, the others are good, indifferent, and bad, in the latter category being two that were built at Trieste. The majority are in the Bosphorus and in the Golden Horn, but there are two in Candia just now. I had a glance at the fortification of the Dardanelles. . . .

The Pacha of the Dardanelles promised me that, on my return from Constantinople, he would show me over the forts on the European shore; but on reaching Chenak for the second time I found he had just left for Constantinople, so I could only guess at the size of the guns—all Krupps in that on Namazieh Point, and in a new battery further up. I do not think their torpedoes would long remain fit for service in the current of the Dardanelles.

Just now I have two gun-vessels in pursuit of a piratical craft, with forty-five Greeks and Albanians on board, which appeared on the Karamanian coast off Previso on the 27th, where they have been playing the devil. It is no distance from Smyrna or from Rhodes, in both of which places those wretched Turks have ships, and yet these outrages go on, and the Consuls telegraph to Malta for help, which by rights should be afforded them by the local authorities.

From Admiral Sir B. Seymour.

"ALEXANDRA,"

BOCCHÉ DI CATTARO, *Sept. 29, 1880.*

I suppose that you are back from your peregrinations in Ireland by this time, and won't mind hearing how things are going on here, though it is more than probable that you know more about them than I do.

I am much afraid that Lord Northbrook, and such of the Cabinet as ever see my letters, look upon me as a sort of male Cassandra, in consequence of my having sung the same song of "Woe, Woe!" ever since the Sultan was supposed to have surrendered all he was asked to give up in connection with the Turco-Montenegrin question. I, individually, never believed in his being in earnest, and I have all along said that his pretence to do so was only a blind to gain time. Whether my prognostications have or have not turned out to be correct, you or any one can judge. All I know is that sixteen days have elapsed since the Sultan promised to give up Dulcigno immediately and amicably; a month has passed since Riza Pacha told my flag captain that there would be no difficulty whatever in handing over the town and district to Montenegro as soon as ever the order to do so reached him from Constantinople, and that now, *in reality*, there has been nothing done, though there has been a good deal of talking about the cession of Dulcigno.

I fancy it is further off than ever now. Unfortunately, the British public thought otherwise, and we who are on the spot were half amused and half disgusted at reading the *Io Pæans* which were printed in half the papers in England. What the next step will be it is almost impossible to say. The Russians and Italians are quite ready to follow our lead. The French only await an excuse to drop the business altogether, and I hear on the very best

authority that Austria and Germany will wash their hands of the Greek business under any circumstances, and that their co-operation finishes here. Government will have to be very cautious in dealing with Smyrna, if the idea of the occupation is ever realized.

There are very many interests in France and in Italy which would suffer by such a step on our part. Nearly all the Lyons and Marseilles merchants advance money on the crops of figs, on the silk, etc., and I know from my French colleague that they were, and are, very much opposed to any "occupation," even if France had been a party to it. Altogether, the state of affairs is a most difficult one, and now there is a chance of its becoming still more complicated in consequence of the Prince de Montenegro being at the end of his resources. He spoke to me, the last time I saw him, on the subject, but I told him that I had nothing whatever to do with the political part of the business; all I had to do was to carry the orders of the Allied Powers into execution, and that I was not possessed of any funds which could be devoted to such an object. I fancy that he is very hard up indeed.

We do nothing but thank our stars that we left Gravosa when we did. Some of the ironclads, and the German corvette, *Victoria*, would certainly have grounded there had we had such a breeze as we had here on Sunday. The *Victoria* is furnished with Trotman's anchors, and she invariably has dragged in every breeze. On Sunday she all but fouled the *Custozza*, and if that ship's ram had touched her she would have gone down like a stone. We continue to hit it off very well among ourselves, notwithstanding what the Vienna papers and that beautiful paper the *Daily Telegraph* say to the contrary. I have been dining all the admirals in turns this week. Last night Fincati and the Italians dined here, and told Lambton,¹ my flag lieutenant, that the Austrian Government have complained to ours that I put the Austrian Archduke, Stephen Carl, on my left hand on the evening the little Prince Herities of Montenegro dined with me! Did you ever hear such bosh? It is not true that any complaint has been made, I need not say. To-night the Archduke and all his collection dine here. It

¹ Captain Hon Hedworth Lambton, C.B., of South African renown.

is the 29th of the month, and two days hence is pay day, which is lucky, as my available assets, as they say in the bankruptcy court, amount at this moment to two sovereigns, one and three in silver, and threepence in coppers, besides two base Austrian coins. It is much cheaper keeping a mess here than it is in Italy, France, or Malta, and, really, we are not so badly supplied. The beef and mutton come from Montenegro and the Herzegovina.

END OF VOL. I.







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